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THE

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

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By JOHN O'DRISCOL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

THE accession of James the second opened the third and latest era of Irish history, — the war of the Revolution. The wars of Ireland since the connexion with Britain form a series of three long and fearful struggles, connected by the two short periods of the first James's, and the second Charles's reigns, —a ponderous weight of war held together by those two narrow links. The reigns of James the first, and Charles the second, were each about twenty years, or little more. The first divided the long wars of Elizabeth's reign from the Cromwellian wars. The second interposed between the latter and the war of the Revolution.

The wars of Elizabeth's reign were purely struggles for power and property. Upon both sides religion was spoken of, and appealed to; but upon both it was a mere pretence. O'Neil and Desmond appealed to the Pope, and the Pope's religion, as a point of union and sympathy with the powers of the Continent and the multitude at home. But there is reason to think that those chiefs were little interested for either.

On the other hand, the British adventurers of the same period appealed to the Protestant faith, to Elizabeth, and to Britain, with a view to enlist the Reformation and all its interests and promoters under their banners. But the abject condition of the reformed church in Ireland during that reign, is a proof how little they regarded it. While they professed to wage war for the cause of the church, they plundered it without mercy or remorse; and treated its ministers with the scorn and contempt which they too much deserved.

In point of fact the popery laws were hardly enforced in Elizabeth's reign; not because there was any want of inclination to press the edge of the law as keenly as possible on the people, but there was a want of power. The instrument which those laws furnished was, however, frequently used with success to oppress or exasperate particular individuals or districts, and force them into violence or rebellion.

The Cromwellians waged war with popery in another spirit. The Reformation was with them no second motive or despised pretence. The Cromwellian popery code exceeded Elizabeth's, infinitely, in severity; and was rigorously executed; until the spirit of religious fanaticism became entangled in the net of this world's possessions, and bowed itself before the spirit of property. When Cromwell's rugged soldiers began to feel the comforts of "house and land," their hostility to the Romish religion was mitigated.

During all this time the state of the Roman church in Ireland was exceedingly low; but not so utterly degraded as the phantom church, which the reformed establishment presented, by starts and sudden visitations, in various parts of the country, as opportunity offered, only to disappear again and be forgotten.

The Romish clergy were generally ignorant and ill-conducted. Neither their learning nor their morals fitted them to be the instructors of the people: but they were superior in both respects to the average of the *Reformed* clergy. They could plead the incessant wars which had destroyed every thing in Ireland, even the learning, religion, and morals, of the country. The reformed clergy came from a neighbouring nation, which was in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity, and had nothing to allege in

extenuation of their corruptions and their ignorance.

The war of the Revolution, which is justly called glorious, was now begun. For the advantages of this great change, which was to establish a principle important to the well-being of mankind, no part of the empire paid so dear a price as Ireland. It swept the country almost entirely of the last remnant of her ancient gentry, which former wars had spared. But it saved both islands from the despotism of the Stuarts and of the church of Rome; and it vindicated the cause of liberty in Europe.

James had no idea of kingly power controlled or limited by law; still less could he comprehend the notion of a monarchy deriving grandeur and strength from the limitation of its authority. He considered any check upon the executive as injurious to the state, and derogatory to the dignity of the crown: he was a despotic sovereign upon principle.

The Revolution which overthrew James, laid prostrate also the power of the church of Rome in the British islands. Those who look at the violence and injustice which accompanied the act will perhaps not estimate the value of the service. There are two vices, which are found in connexion with all, or almost all, religious sects and establishments, — despotism and intolerance. The first is exercised by the autho-

rities of the church over its own members; the second is employed by one sect against another. The Protestant churches are justly chargeable with the latter infirmity, the church of Rome with both.

The despotism which prevails within a church is a greater evil than the rage which exercises itself without, because it is a greater bar to the progress of truth and knowledge; but it is apparently less cruel, and offends less the public eye. It is more reasonable than intolerance. The latter is the most irrational of all the vices of sectaries, because a small degree of reflection would convince us, that various modes and forms of worship are not only the unavoidable result of the variety of mind and infinite modifications of perception which exist in the species, but that they are indispensable means for the preservation of zeal, purity, and propriety in religion. A variety of forms of worship may be built upon one simple foundation of truth, and where that foundation exists, the variety of superstructure is not only harmless but useful, whether it be the florid gothic, with all its superfluous adornments, or the naked and stern simplicity of the church of the covenant, which rejects with horror all decoration but that of "grace."

Tyrconnel, notwithstanding his change of counsel, thought it prudent to carry on a semblance of negotiation with the new government

of England. Chief Baron Rice, on the part of the Catholics, and Lord Mountjoy, on the side of the Protestants, were deputed by the lord-lieutenant to wait upon James at Paris, and to represent to him the necessity which his subjects of Ireland were under of submitting to the government of the Prince of Orange. Tyrconnel further intimated his resolution, that in case James should not concur in the plan of surrendering the government, he would feel himself warranted in resigning his authority. It was stipulated that there should be a cessation of arms until the result of this application were known.

On the arrival of the Deputies at Paris, the true character of this unmeaning juggle was discovered. Lord Mountjoy was committed to the Bastile by a shameful breach of faith, and Rice, who alone was entrusted with the secret of the deputation, entered into negotiations with the French government for the transportation of arms, troops, and stores to Ireland.

Tyrconnel now resumed the prosecution of the war. The northern Protestants had been unmolested during his hesitation, and had been active and decided in their measures. In the south Lord Inshiquin had been successful in collecting some troops under William's standard. Lord Kingston raised the Prince's flag in Connaught, and gathered a few Protestant adherents. These were small corps, but their spirits were

raised by the events which had recently occurred in England. They hastened to proclaim William and Mary, and were the first to commence hostilities. They made a hasty attack upon Carrickfergus, in which they failed. They were further confounded by a proclamation from the lord-lieutenant and council, ordering them to lay down their arms. The proclamation of the lord-lieutenant would not have disturbed them; but this was signed Lord Granard and other Protestant noblemen, and therefore commanded their respect.

To support this proclamation Lieutenant-general Hamilton was despatched to the north with about a thousand regular troops and a considerable body of irregulars. Hamilton encountered the insurgents at Dromore, and defeated them with great slaughter. He pursued them to Hillsborough, where they rallied, but were again defeated and scattered in every direction. Hamilton followed up his success; subdued a number of detached corps, and finally reduced the northerns to their strong towns of Derry and Enniskillen.

In the south, General M'Carty had been equally vigorous and successful in clearing Munster of William's adherents. He routed Inshiquin in every encounter, and drove him from the field. The Protestants, lately so confident and bold, now fled in all directions from

the kingdom. All their posts in Munster were surrendered. In the north, Newry, Armagh, Coleraine, and other places were given up.

Derry, the great strength of the northern Protestants, was in want of every thing. Their applications to the new government in England had been little attended to in the multitude of interests that pressed for consideration. Their repeated and earnest representations were answered from time to time with assurances of support and succour; but those assurances were all they received. In the mean time violent dissentions prevailed in the town. Lundy, the governor, was suspected of being in the interest of James. The more moderate portion of the inhabitants wished an accommodation with the existing government; and that the city of Derry should abide its fate according to the issue of the war, and not be forced into a disastrous importance in the contest. But the majority were opposed to this scheme, and clamoured for resistance to the last extremity.

While these transactions were in progress, James sailed from Brest with three and twenty ships of war of all classes, and about fifteen hundred troops, chiefly Irish, in the pay of France, and a number of French officers, intended to command the Royal army in Ireland. The king landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, and proceeded to Cork, where he was met by

Lord Tyrconnel. From Cork, James continued his progress to Dublin, where he arrived on the 24th of March, attended by a considerable train of British, Irish, and French noblemen and gentlemen, and accompanied by the French ambassador D'Avaux.

James seems in his first acts of government in Ireland to have been willing to adopt those measures of prudence and moderation which might, if employed in time, have preserved the crown of England to him and his family. Addresses were presented to him by the several public bodies, and by the clergy of the Established Church. His answers were prudent. He promised favour and protection to the establishment and encouragement to all. James had ever been a man of his word; and he cannot be charged with any breach of promise during his stay in Ireland. He invited the Protestants who had fled the kingdom, to return to their homes, and assured them of safety and his particular care. He commanded the Catholics, all but the military, not to carry arms in public. And finally he summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin on the seventh of May.

Having done so much upon paper, James thought it necessary to attempt something in the field; and believing that the reduction of the north, in which Hamilton had made such progress, would be now within the compass of

his military skill and courage, he determined upon taking the command of the northern army. It was easy to anticipate the result of an expedition in which James was commander in chief.

The king marched at the head of a considerable army to the attack of Derry; it was determined that the siege should not be pressed, but rather converted into a blockade, as a kind of military exercise for the raw levies of the Irish army. No doubt was entertained of taking the town whenever it should be seriously attacked. But this plan of a military exercise was threatened with discomfiture by the governor of the town, Lundy, who took a fancy for surrendering the place long before James in his stately progress had arrived near enough to take it off his hands. At length, however, he drew sufficiently near to get into communication with Lundy; and the preliminaries of the surrender were speedily arranged; James giving up his plan of "military exercise" in order to gratify the governor in his propensity to capitulate. After this James marched forward to take possession of the town, half angry at being deprived of the pleasure and glory of taking a city by military prowess. As he drew near the walls, he expected to see the corporate authorities advancing to meet him with their elaborate and obsequious address; but the first greeting James met with from the city was a heavy discharge of

cannon from the walls; which induced him to halt, and enquire the meaning of the matter.

The circumstance was soon explained. Lundy was willing, and even anxious to surrender the town; and although two regiments and some supplies had arrived from England, this reinforcement did not alter his opinion upon the point. What was more singular still, the governor found no difficulty in persuading the commanders of the newly arrived regiments to concur with him in opinion. It is probable that Lundy might have some skill in the defence of fortified places, and little enthusiasm for the glorious self-devotion of the Derry men. Possibly also the British regiments, like Lundy, did not consider the place tenable, except by enduring a degree of starvation for which they had no fancy.

A council was formed, composed of officers from the town and from the newly arrived troops; and it appeared to them that the town was not tenable, and that there were not provisions for ten days' siege, though all unnecessary persons should be removed. It was therefore resolved, that the new regiments should return to England; that the chief officers of the garrison should withdraw from the town, and the inhabitants should be advised to surrender upon the best terms they could procure.

These proceedings were communicated to the

town council; and were soon known in the city. A great tumult ensued. The town council, as was rational and proper, had acquiesced in the advice of the council of war, and they were in consequence assailed by the populace with rage and reproaches. The cry of treachery resounded through the city. The frantic people believed they were betrayed and sold to their enemies the Papists. They attacked the council with fury, in their houses, and wherever they met them in the streets. An officer of rank was killed; and several persons wounded. Inside the walls all was phrensy and distraction, and all order and subordination was at an end.

At this critical moment, a Protestant gentleman of the name of Murray arrived with a small reinforcement in the town. Murray was a man of some property in the neighbourhood, and commanded one of those little volunteer corps which were then so numerous in the north. He was a man of some discretion and great zeal in the Protestant cause. He encouraged the populace in their determination to defend the city; and, emboldened by his presence and advice, they rushed to the walls, and saluted James with that discharge of cannon which so much astonished him. Murray expostulated with Lundy, and sought to win him to a resolute defence. But Lundy could not be moved to undertake what he considered so desperate and irrational a case;

nor were the moderate and sensible portion of the citizens much reassured by the arguments of Captain Murray. They persisted in their wishes to make terms with the enemy; and sent a deputation to James to apologise for the cannon that had been fired; representing the proceeding truly, as the act of a rash and disorderly rabble. But that rabble were now masters of the town; and taking the whole matter into their own hands, they proceeded to elect a new governor, appoint officers, and nominate to all situations within the city.

Their choice of governors was as extraordinary as the whole proceeding had been strange. A clergyman of the name of Walker, and a military man named Baker, were elected governors by the mob. But Baker, seems to have been appointed for form-sake only; Walker, was the real commandant.

At the time, it is probable, that the military men in Derry were greatly amused at the comical choice which the mob had made of a commander. But mobs, when quite in earnest, seldom make a wrong choice. They judge by some instinct of the characters of men, and seldom err in their judgement. Walker had never been tried as a military man, and yet they discerned in him the talent of which he was himself, perhaps, quite unconscious. But though they had discovered the ablest soldier the town

afforded disguised in a cassock, yet the garrison was a wild and almost frantic mob. The town was without provisions for more than a few days. The fortifications, though naturally strong, were little able, with such a garrison, to resist a numerous and well-appointed army. And yet, in mockery of all human wisdom, it was the very folly of the mob that saved the town; it was the madness of a crowd of fools that snatched this important fortress from the grasp of James, and contributed materially to the successful issue of the war. The defence of Derry was accomplished at an expense, no doubt, of enormous and incalculable suffering. Most of the population perished miserably; and only a wasted and ruined remnant of the people survived to enjoy their melancholy triumph.

The defence of Derry has been much celebrated; but never beyond, hardly ever as much, as it merited. Few sieges have had more effect upon the fate of nations; none ever displayed more heroic devotion and endurance on the part of the besieged. The resistance made by Derry and Limerick are both memorable in this war. Limerick is the more important, and fills a larger space in history. But the fanaticism of the Protestant, always more energetic than the zeal of the Catholic, gives the interest of a sublimer enthusiasm to the defence of Derry.

Walker had enthusiasm of the highest kind;

but he had judgement also. He was calm, discreet, and fanatic. He possessed that ascendancy over the people which a confidence in his good sense and his ardent zeal were calculated to bestow. As soon as the excitement which occasioned his appointment had somewhat subsided, he set himself diligently to work to establish order in the town. He allowed the former governor, Lundy, to escape in disguise to the fleet. He permitted all unnecessary persons, that were willing, to leave the town. The soldiers were assigned, every man, his place, and every regiment its proper quarter at the walls; and a system of perfect discipline and order was at length established.

The Protestant clergy of all denominations shared the labours of the siege in their turns; and when the day's work was over and their military tasks were at an end, they took their places in the churches and conventicles. Then the people crowded to their devotions, weary, indeed, with the toils and labours of the day, and fainting, perhaps, for want of sufficient food, but still with the high excitement which the perils and the importance of the occasion created; and when the preacher poured forth his labouring heart at the feet of the great disposer of events, the God of armies, and the ruler of the destiny of nations, the people joined in the prayer with a solemn energy of devotion which those only

know who have been in "peril of their lives" and in "the toils of their enemies."

The awful circumstances in which the city was placed were inspiration to the preacher, and fervent and undoubting faith to the congregation. The "man of God" had no need of the ornaments of speech, while the thunder of the enemies' cannon roared round the walls; and the doubts of the sceptic, and the jests of the scoffer, fled before the face of famine, and the rebuke of unrelenting misery. Though the piety of the citizens was exalted by the terrors of their situation, and the feeling, perhaps, that they had rushed into their present dangers against the advice of those most competent to judge wisely; yet they did not escape the curse which God seems to have appended even to his own worship, that nothing might be exempt from the general analogy of human imperfection. Violent disagreements arose as to the most acceptable modes of addressing the supreme being. Some of the clergy denounced those as unworthy to assist in the defence of the town who refused to take the *solemn covenant*. But the good sense of Walker and others appeased the tumult as often as it broke forth, and no serious consequences followed.

Thirty thousand fugitives from the neighbouring districts, exclusive of the garrison, were shut up within the walls of Derry. Those could

render no assistance in the defence. The besiegers were estimated at twenty thousand. When the rulers of this little republic looked around them upon the multitude that were to be fed, and abroad upon the host that encompassed them, even their utmost enthusiasm could hardly sustain their confidence, or their most exalted piety preserve them from despair.

"It did beget," says Walker, "some disorder among us, and confusion when we looked about us, and saw what we were doing; our enemies all about us, and our friends running away from us. A garrison we had composed of a number of poor people frightened from their own homes, and seemed more fit to hide themselves than to face an enemy. When we considered that we had no persons of any experience in war among us, and those very persons that were sent to assist us had so little confidence in the place, that they no sooner saw it than they thought fit to leave it; that we had but few horse to sally out with, and no forage; no engineers to instruct us in our works; no fire-works, not so much as a hand granado to annoy the enemy; not a gun well mounted in the whole town; that we had so many mouths to feed, and not above ten days' provisions for them, in the opinion of our former governors; that every day several left us, and gave constant intelligence to the enemy; that they had so many opportunities to divide us

and so often endeavoured it, and to betray the governors; that they were so numerous, so powerful and well appointed an army, that, in all human probability, we could not think ourselves in less danger than the Israelites at the Red Sea. When we considered all this, it was obvious enough what a dangerous undertaking we had ventured upon. But the resolution and courage of our people, and the necessity we were under, and the great confidence and dependence amongst us on God Almighty, that he would take care of us and preserve us, made us overlook all those difficulties."

This quotation from the diary of this singular man, is admirably descriptive of the situation and condition of the besieged. Their defence was conducted in the most unmilitary and irregular manner, but it was effectual. Those who chose sallied against the enemy, in what order, and with what accompaniment they pleased, and their sallies were frequent. The town was almost in ruins; the gates were often open; and the besieged would scornfully invite the attack of their enemy, and ask why he lost his powder upon the walls when the gates were open to him?

The high-wrought enthusiasm of the besieged seems to have deterred the Irish commanders from the attack; and they resolved to wait the slow but certain progress of famine. Perhaps

they remembered the almost similar case of the siege at Kinsale, where their cause was ruined by a precipitate assault upon the starved army of the Deputy Mountjoy. But the case of Derry was unlike that of Kinsale. At Kinsale the British were completely enclosed: they could receive no succour from without; and their final submission was inevitable. Derry was open to the sea, and might be relieved.

James, tired of the siege, and of his ill success soon quitted the lines, and returned to Dublin, reproaching his Irish army with their failure before so feeble a fortress, and their inferiority to the troops he had been accustomed to command in England. He was, no doubt, right in deeming them inferior. They were new levies. Officers and men were alike inexperienced in regular warfare, and had never before sat down before a fortified place. Two thirds of his whole force were irregulars; and, above all, he had never conducted an army except to defeat.

James on his departure committed the command of his army to General De Rosen, a foreign officer of some reputation. Rosen pushed the siege with vigour, but with little humanity. Every day increased the sufferings of the unhappy garrison. Disease followed upon the rear of famine. Exhausted with incessant labour, perishing of hunger, sick from unwhole-

some and unnatural food, hope forsook them, and they surrendered themselves to despair, but not to the enemy. They could not yet resolve to submit.

While in this state of sullen stupor, they were suddenly roused by the appearance of ships in the lake bearing British ensigns. It was a fleet of thirty sail, bringing troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions for the relief of the garrison. The joy and exultation of the perishing people of Derry knew no bounds. It was to them a resurrection from death to life; from bondage to liberty. They gazed with ecstasy upon the ships as they continued their steady course upon the beautiful waters of Lough Foyle; every heart beat high, as ship after ship bore up, and displayed her white canvass to the anxious crowd, close wedged upon the ramparts. Every voice whispered fervent murmurs of thanksgiving to the God of the land and of the ocean, who never deserts his faithful people in their extremity, or consigns those who trust in him to the hands of their enemies.

The Irish upon their side were equally attentive to the movements of the fleet. Hostilities were suspended as if by mutual consent; and the contending parties thought for the moment only of the armament that was approaching.

While the Irish officers debated upon the

means or practicability of impeding the advance of the shipping to the town, the inhabitants of Derry eagerly made signals to the fleet, indicating the extremity to which they were reduced, and pointing out the proper course for navigating the lake. There was indeed nothing to impede the progress of Kirk, who commanded this armament.

On a sudden, the ships were observed to haul to windward, to the amazement of the garrison, and the surprise of the army outside the walls. What could be the meaning of this manœuvre? It was soon explained; the ships were standing out to sea. Signal followed rapidly after signal from the dismayed inhabitants of Derry, and Kirk made no sign in return.

Mean time the Irish take their measures. Batteries are planted along the shore. Strong battalions are marched to the water's edge, and line the borders of the lake where they approach the city. A boom of great strength, formed of timber, strong cables, and vast iron chains is stretched across a narrow part of the lake, and made firm upon either shore. While all this is transacting, the fleet was rapidly passing out of sight.

Faith and patience are the great foundations of the Christian religion; and though all are called upon to practise them, there have been few instances perhaps of a severer trial than this

was to the forlorn citizens of Derry. When the hand is stretched out to save and instantly withdrawn; when the time is come, and to-morrow will be too late, can the victim be accused if he dies with murmurs upon his lip?

Baker the governor was dead: and death was now rapidly thinning the ranks of the heroic garrison, more effectually than the sword of the enemy. Their food was dead horses, dogs, cats, rats, and all loathsome vermin. The extremity and horror of the famine had nearly dissolved all discipline and authority. Murmurs for a capitulation began to be heard among the dying and ghastly crowd; and were only suppressed by the fury of those who had become almost insane with their sufferings. They threatened death to any who should propose or mention a surrender, while they were themselves expiring and without hope. Their detestation of Popery seemed to derive strength from the decay of nature.

They heard in a short time from Kirk; he had sailed round to Lough Swilly. He still talked of relieving them, but he spoke doubtingly. He assured them that every thing went on well in England and Scotland for the Protestant cause, and advised them to hold out bravely and be careful of their provisions. It was uncertain whether Kirk's communications were not a cruel mockery.

Rosen, in the mean time, finding the garrison

still obstinate, contrived a mode of attack which has made his memory infamous. He sent out detachments and collected some hundreds of miserable Protestants from every part of the north; and gathering them together in his camp he drove them under the walls of the town there to perish of hunger and exposure, unless relieved by the surrender of the garrison. James's soldiers, we are told, executed the savage order with reluctance, and even with tears, as they drove along the young, and old, the helpless female, and the shrieking child. The garrison fired on the tumultuous and wailing crowd as they approached, mistaking them for enemies; for though they had been threatened with this execution in case of longer resistance, they probably thought that so inhuman a project would not be carried into effect.

This mode of carrying a fortress by attacking the hearts of the garrison rather than their battlements, did not succeed, and seldom has succeeded. There have been several instances of it in Irish warfare, and upon both sides, but no instance of its success. There was now a contest of cruelty between the garrison of Derry and the besiegers. The former erected a gallows upon the rampart in sight of the Irish army, and brought forth the prisoners they had taken during the siege, threatening immediate execution unless the crowd under the walls were

suffered to depart. These were dying fast of hunger and the weather, and in their last agonies, many of them conjured the soldiers on the walls to persevere in their defence, and not to regard their sufferings. So much stronger is the love of *the cause*, whatever it may be, than the love of life, in the human bosom, when driven to extremity.

But the noise of those barbarities having reached Dublin, James sent orders for the immediate liberation of the crowd suffering under the walls of Derry, and thus this odious experiment failed. It was said that James acted under the compulsion of public opinion; and that he had been previously acquainted with what had been done. But we should hope that this is not the fact, and that such a brutality is not to be added to the other inhumanities of which the king was undoubtedly guilty. The garrison rather profited by this abortive and disgraceful manœuvre. They availed themselves of it to get rid of a number of useless mouths, which encumbered the town. These were mingled with the crowd outside the walls when permitted to depart, and escaped with them, and at the same time they took in some able men that formed part of the multitude.

This was the crisis of the fate of Derry,—and it was passed. It was their last trial of fortitude and trust in Providence. Already relief

was at hand. The tumult of the retreating multitude had hardly ceased outside the walls, when three ships were discovered in the lake with all sails set, and steering for the town. These were two store ships laden with provisions and the Dartmouth frigate, part of Kirk's squadron. Kirk had learned that his conduct at Derry had been heard with anger and astonishment in England; and he hastened to avert the storm which he saw was likely to overtake him. His dastardly or treacherous conduct had lengthened the sufferings of Derry from the middle of June to the end of July.

The ships approached in view of the besiegers and the besieged; but of the latter, more than half the eyes were closed in death that had witnessed the former ineffectual attempt at relief. The Irish army had taken their posts along the shore. The batteries that commanded the harbour were manned. The boom was made tight, and all was in readiness. As the vessels came within the range of shot, a heavy fire of cannon and musketry was opened upon them from the Irish lines along shore. They returned the fire with spirit, and continued to advance. At length the headmost store ship approached the boom, and struck it; the boom was broke, but the vessel went ashore with the violence of the rebound. The besieging army shouted and prepared to board her. But the vessel fired all her

guns, and extricated by the shock, she floated, and passed rapidly unto the city, followed by her companions.

The garrison of Derry had consisted of about eight thousand men. It was now reduced to less than four. The Irish army broke up suddenly and retired. Their loss is said to have exceeded that of the garrison.

The triumph of the Derry men was so extravagant (if any thing could be extravagant in their case) that they ventured to pursue the retreating army, and suffered for their temerity. They were roughly handled by the rear guard.

To complete the mortification of the discomfiture before Derry, General M'Carty, who had been detached against the Enniskilleners, was defeated and taken prisoner, by a very inferior force. M'Carty was an officer of great merit, and had lately distinguished himself in the south, by his operations against Inshiquin, whom he had effectually subdued. He was of a noble Irish family, and bore the ancient title of M'Carty More. He had been ordered to the north, at the head of a corps of six thousand men, to assist in the reduction of Ulster. M'Carty came up with the Enniskilleners at a place called Newtown Butler. The Enniskillen men did not count more than two thousand; but they attacked the Irish right wing suddenly and boldly, and before they were aware of the numbers of

M'Carty's corps, the greater part of which was still in march, M'Carty ordered a battalion to face to the right, and march to the support of the wing that was attacked. The officer who delivered this order, gave the word to "face to the right about." The remainder of M'Carty's corps, which was coming up, seeing a battalion marching off the ground, wheeled about likewise. The movement to the rear became general. The right wing gave way. M'Carty, while endeavouring to remedy the disorder, was wounded and taken prisoner; and the Irish fell into confusion at all points. M'Carty was led captive into Enniskillen, regretting that he had not fallen on the field, and hoping that his wounds might prove mortal.

CHAP. II.

JAMES'S PARLIAMENT.

JAMES continued in Dublin, where a parliament was now assembling, the materials of which had been carefully attended to by the lord-lieutenant. The House of Commons was essentially Catholic; but the members were of the most ancient and respectable families in the country, and the House contained, for that period, a fair portion of talent. The Lords' House is not so immediately in the power of the executive as the Commons. It requires time and materials to model that House to the purposes of the crown. But this was the less important, as that House still retained, spite of all the experiments that had been tried upon it by the Cromwellian government, much of its original Catholic character.

Something however was done. The attainders against Catholic Peers, by which the Cromwellians sought to Protestantise the House, were reversed; and several new Peers were created, though, it must be said for the credit of James, none unworthily. Among the new Peers

were Sir Valentine Brown, created Viscount Kenmare; Major General Justin M'Carty, or M'Carty More, created Viscount Mount-Cashel; Lord Chief Justice Nugent, Baron Riverstown; and John Burke, Baron Bophin. Of the Protestant Peers some attended, as did several Protestant Bishops, and boldly opposed the measures of the court. No Catholic Bishops were summoned.

The parliament met on the seventh of May, 1689, at the Inns of Court in Dublin. The Session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the king commended the loyalty of his Irish subjects, and declared his intention to know no difference between Catholic and Protestant; and that loyalty and good conduct should be the only passports to his favour. He stated his earnest wish that good and wholesome laws should be enacted for the encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the country, and for the relief of such as had suffered injustice by the late "Acts of Settlement." Nagle, who had been elected Speaker of the House of Commons, made the proper commentary upon the speech. Fitton, the Chancellor, did the same in the Lords. Addresses were then voted, and bills passed recognizing the king's title, and denouncing the Prince of Orange as an usurper. The king delivered his speech in royal robes, and with the crown on his head.

The great object of the Session was the bill

for the repeal of the Act of Settlement. The difficulty which the English council opposed to this measure, was now removed by the presence of the king in Ireland. It was brought into parliament on the 13th of May, and was, probably, the work of Baron Rice and Sir Richard Nagle. It was read once the same day, and motion was made for the second reading, but rejected. On the fourteenth, two bills were brought from the House of Commons to the Lords, and read once; one for recalling all grants of civil offices made by the king during life or good behaviour; another against writs of error and appeal into England, and providing that an act of parliament of England shall not bind Ireland.

Both those bills were opposed by the Bishop of Meath with the utmost energy and perseverance. Against the first he argued, that honest and able officers might be turned out without fault, which would be unjust unless compensation were made. The Lord Chancellor answered merely that the bill was necessary for the king's service. On a division the Bishop was the only non-content.

The Bishop opposed the second bill with still more vigour. He argued that it was against his oath acknowledging the supremacy of the king, and against His Majesty's prerogative. The Lord Chancellor replied that the appeal into England was expensive, burdensome, and use-

less to the people of Ireland. The Bishop proposed a clause saving all appeals pending in England, which was overruled, and the bill passed. The important clause which abolished the authority of English acts of parliament in Ireland does not seem to have excited discussion.

This bill abolishing the jurisdiction of English courts of law, and of the English parliament in Ireland, was one of those measures so strenuously contended for by the confederates in the war of 1641, and afterwards by Mr. Grattan and the volunteers in 1782. It was by means of the supremacy of the British law courts, and of the British parliament, that a small anti-Irish party in Ireland had been always enabled to govern, and generally to tyrannize over, the Irish nation. It was natural, therefore, that it should be the first object of a national government to get rid of this great abuse, which was in effect destructive of the prosperity of Ireland, and injurious to Great Britain.

On the sixteenth, a bill was introduced for securing and increasing the salaries of the judges; a wise measure, which had not, as yet, been adopted in Great Britain. This was followed by various other bills for the regulation and encouragement of commerce, for the promotion of ship-building, and for correcting abuses in the butter trade.

Another bill of importance was one for permitting Roman Catholics to pay their tithes to

the clergy of their own church, and entitling the Protestant clergy to demand tithe from the members of their own communion only.

On the 22d of May the bill for the repeal of the Act of Settlement was brought up from the Commons by Colonel M'Carty. The House of Lords had done no business for four days previously, waiting in anxious expectation of this bill. The king had sent repeatedly to the Commons desiring it to brought up, and on this day he had sent the usher of the black rod frequently before the Commons made their appearance with the bill.

While the bill was in progress through the House several petitions were presented against it by persons whose titles it would affect. Among these were Lords Galway, Kingston, Matthew, Sir Henry Bingham, and others. The scope of the petitions was generally to save the remainders upon their estates, vested in their issue; and to have compensation for improvements. Counsel were heard at the bar in support of the petitions, and they were finally referred to a committee.

The king appears to have been exceedingly impatient for the passing of the bill; and if he considered it, as perhaps he did, to be an act of justice towards those who had lost their estates in his cause, it shows him to have possessed a sense of right, and even a feeling of gratitude which does him honour; and of which a man

so sparingly endowed with virtues ought not to be deprived. Various efforts were made to obstruct the progress of the bill; amongst others, it was attempted to throw James's piety in the way as an impediment. On Tuesday the 28th of May a motion was made for an adjournment to Thursday, Wednesday being a holyday. The king asked what holyday? and he was answered, the restoration of his brother Charles and himself. "Then," said the king, "it is the fitter day to restore those loyal Catholic gentlemen who suffered the loss of their estates in our cause." The motion was accordingly rejected.

This incident is important, as it proves what James's, and no doubt Charles's, real opinions were of the Acts of Settlement, and of the war of 1641.

While the bill remained in the Lords, the Commons testified the same impatience to have it passed, which their lordships did while it was in its progress through the lower House. On the 3d of June Sir William Talbot came up from the Commons with a message, importing "their earnest request that their lordships would pass the bill with all the expedition they could, because the heart and courage of the whole nation were bound up in it."

On the 4th of June the bill was read in the Lords with all provisoes and alterations. The Bishop of Meath spoke against it at great length;

and the Lord Chancellor and Lord Riverstown supported it. The bishops and the Protestant lords desired leave to enter their protest, which was granted; the king observing that they should use the word *dissent*, for that *protest* came in rebellious times. Their dissent engrossed on parchment was in the following terms: "We, the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, whose names are hereafter subscribed, having for diverse reasons, then humbly offered to the House of Lords, dissented from passing the bill into a law, sent up to this honourable House from the House of Commons, entitled 'An Act for repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation,' and having obtained leave from the House of Lords to enter our dissent against the said bill, do accordingly subscribe our dissent from the said bill." Signed by the Bishops of Meath, Ossory, Cork, Limerick, Armagh, and Waterford, and by the Lords Granard, Longford, Rosse, and Howth.

On the 11th of June the two Houses held a conference upon the bill, and finally it was passed into a law.

The Irish military establishment, in May, 1689, consisted of fourteen regiments of cavalry and forty-two regiments of foot, amounting to forty-two thousand five hundred men. The pay of the cavalry was sixpence-halfpenny per day, and that of the infantry four-pence. This was

a large army, if it is considered that the *irregulars* must have exceeded this number, and that the whole were furnished by a population of about five-and-thirty years' growth. Since the depopulation occasioned by the Cromwellian war, which closed in 1653, the country must have repaired its losses with wonderful rapidity to be able to furnish so large a military force in so short a period.

The pay of the troops was also very liberal, if we take into account the relative value of money at that period and the present: four-pence in 1689 would certainly purchase more of any commodity than twelve-pence of the present coin. It is curious to observe that the soldier has suffered as great a depression in his hire within the last 150 years as the agricultural labourer.

James's acts of attainder were extensive and unrelenting. They included about two thousand Protestant proprietors; and there were amongst them many instances of great hardship and cruelty. It was said in justification, and said truly, that those proprietors had acquired their possessions by similar means, or even with less show of reason. The question is now at rest. Time has set his broad seal upon the Cromwellian estates, and made good their titles; and it is for the interest of the country that they should grow into greater strength and antiquity.

If we take away the acts for recovering possession of the Cromwellian estates, which, at that period, must be considered as justifiable in James's parliament, and the cruel and violent acts for confiscating the personal property of "Rebels," as they were called, who adhered to William, and some other retaliatory measures, it will be found that the acts of that assembly were directed by a wise view of Irish interests, and a desire to promote the welfare of the country, as well as to erect a constitutional barrier against the power of the crown. They passed a number of acts which the people of Ireland had long and vainly struggled for, and which the mistaken jealousy of the British nation and government had always denied. They made repeated efforts to obtain a repeal of "Poyning's Law;" but upon this point James was obstinate, and would not concur. The glory of that repeal was reserved for Grattan and a Protestant parliament. But they gave their country a free trade, which she had never enjoyed except under the convention of Kilkenny, and at some other periods when the yoke of the local government was loosened for a moment.

A land-tax was voted to the king of twenty thousand pounds a month; a heavy tax in the then condition of Ireland. But James, who never understood the "political economy of kings," and was but a bungler in his own trade

of royalty, insisted upon levying as much more, by his own private authority, upon the chattel property of his subjects. He did not know that with an instrument, composed of a House of Lords and Commons, he could obtain a much greater amount of the property of the people, than he could take with the best pair of royal fingers in the world. His council remonstrated against this arbitrary proceeding; but James had a childish passion for this kind of silly meddling, and would not be controlled.

The result was, that the resources of Ireland were soon exhausted. They had been diminishing rapidly since the first threatenings of civil war, which came like a blight upon the budding industry of the country. During the depopulation occasioned by the wars of Elizabeth, and the Cromwellian wars, the country had relapsed into a forest. As the people disappeared, the vegetable population took their places; and towards the close of these wars much of the island was covered with timber.

Upon the peace of 1653 the new settlers began to clear away the forest trees: they made enclosures in the woods, and planted orchards, and laid out gardens. They imported fruits, and flowers, and vegetables from England and Holland; they built comfortable dwelling houses; and whenever the ruined castles of the ancient proprietors afforded, as they frequently

did, sheltered and pleasant situations, the new Irish built their mansion-houses adjoining these, and added to their other accommodations the important one of security. The ivy soon crept over the dismantled tower, and concealed its scars, while the neat mansion of the new proprietor smiled under its protection. The paved court-yard, surrounded by its solid walls, and in the rear the large and substantial offices, completed the domestic accommodation of the Cromwellian gentleman. He was active, resolute, and industrious. He soon changed the savage aspect of the country; and if he did not often smile himself, he made the land around him look gay.

The jealousy of the British parliament in Charles the Second's reign retarded the growing prosperity of Ireland, but could not entirely prevent it. It continued to increase up to the disastrous period of James's arrival in Ireland. The severity of taxation; and the uncertainty which hung over the issue of the war; the little confidence in James's prudence or ability; all tended to paralyse the industry of the country. Money almost disappeared under James's rigorous exactions; and he soon adopted a measure which banished it entirely, or consigned it, a second time, to the safe custody of the earth, whence it was taken. Almost all the gold and silver of the country was buried after James's celebrated issue of copper coin.

The two kings who divided the British empire at this time were both driven by their necessities to schemes of finance. William having been reared in the counting house of Holland was the abler contriver. He laid the basis of the debt of England by borrowing gold, and pawning the revenue of the country to the lender. James did not understand the matter, or could get no one to lend upon his security; and the alchemy of banking, or converting paper into gold, was not yet discovered. But his plan was not very different.

James's plan was to convert copper, or other metal of small value, into gold and silver. He coined a large quantity of base metal into pieces, upon which he stamped a nominal value, and made them *a legal tender* for crowns, half crowns, and other silver and gold coin. By his proclamation this new coinage was to be received in all dealings, except only in the payment of trust-money, or money due on bills, bonds, or morgtages, and except for customs on imported commodities. These exceptions were soon removed — all but the latter.

James promised that this coin should, at the end of the war, be received in payments at the Exchequer, and exchanged for sterling money. A respectable historian (Leland) says, 'that this plan of finance was against all "law, reason and humanity," and that it has rendered the

name of James "horrible to Irish Protestants." It was not against law, because a law was made for the purpose; and reason and humanity seem to have little to do with financial schemes. James's was as good as many of later date. His bank failed undoubtedly, so have many other banks; but the Protestants did not suffer more by the failure, than people of other creeds. The Catholics were far the greatest holders of James's promissory copper tokens.

James's plan was a copper bank set up *instanter*, with an immediate bank-restriction. There might have been, no doubt, an over-issue, but if the Protestants lost, they had least right of any to complain, for they did all they could to break the banker, and finally succeeded in driving him out of the kingdom, copper notes and all. The Catholics lost by the coin very severely, and they lost their estates also. The Protestants, though they lost by this early experiment in banking, recovered the land, which was ample compensation.

In all former Irish wars the land was made to pay a great part, if not the whole, of the expense. Loans were raised in London for carrying on the war, the lender to be satisfied afterwards, in Irish estates. This system could not now be acted upon. There were already two sets of claimants for the land: one claiming under William, and the other under James.

There was no party that could be safely put out at this time. Hence the necessity of the financial measures resorted to by the contending powers.

James was totally ignorant how to support the credit of his coin. He had but one idea about any thing—force; and force, when applied to currency, is sure to fail. His exceptions to the circulation of his coin, though a clumsy attempt at being honest, were very injurious to its credit. Probably, if he had got a few thousand pounds of sterling coin, and made his copper tokens *convertible*, he might have kept up their credit, as long, at least, as things went on well in the country; and it would have been time enough for the *restriction* after the battle of the Boyne.

James, like greater financiers, soon found himself exceedingly embarrassed. His metal tokens came back rapidly to his exchequer in the payment of all taxes and assessments. They were paid to him at their nominal value, but in the common transactions of business they fell almost to their intrinsic worth. He could fix a denomination upon his coin; but the seller of any article could fix a price upon his commodity to meet the arbitrary denomination. If a piece of metal worth one penny, be tendered for a shilling, the seller of a penny-worth of bread has only to ask a shilling for it, and the difficulty

is got rid of. James was puzzled at this. He found it necessary, in order to keep his scheme of currency afloat, to take one step more, and fix a price upon commodities, as he had settled a value upon his coin.

Having done this, his views suddenly enlarged. He found that money might be made of it; and he turned merchant himself. He bought large quantities of butter, corn, hides, wool, and other articles, at such prices as he thought proper to give; and he paid for all by a few pounds' weight of tin or copper. It is easy to believe that he was no welcome customer. But he had persons employed to find out who had goods to sell; and none dared refuse to deal with a customer that had forty-two regiments of foot and fourteen of cavalry.

All those commodities he shipped to France, where they were sold for his own account. By this traffic he realised large sums of money at the expense of his subjects.

James is accused, with less reason, of having attempted to starve as well as cheat his Protestant subjects. Guards were said to have been placed on the bakers' shops in Dublin to prevent their getting bread, as if James had imagined that Protestants lived by "bread only," for he is not charged with preventing their getting any other food.

He is denounced for restoring to the Catholics

various schools and churches of which the Protestants had lately the possession. But it does not appear that he was very blamable on this head. Those churches and schools were mostly of original Catholic foundation; and the Protestants had never given themselves a title, (the only one which deserved to be regarded), by filling the churches with congregations, and the schools with scholars. James cannot be considered as acting very improperly in putting an end to so unnatural a state of things, as was exhibited in churches without congregations, and congregations without churches;—schools without scholars, and scholars without schools.

James's proceedings against Dublin college were more unjustifiable. The college resisted all his efforts to induce them to admit a Catholic to a professorship. But though their resistance was ungracious in a country where nine tenths of the people were Catholics, yet undoubtedly the heads of the college were justified in their refusal. They were bound by their statutes, which excluded Catholics. The college was an original Protestant foundation, and differed, in this respect, from the case of the schools and churches. James's proceedings, therefore, were undoubtedly violent and despotic. The scholars and fellows were forcibly driven out of their halls by the military, and Catholics put in possession. Moore, a Catholic clergyman of moder-

ation and learning, was appointed the new provost, and M'Carty, an ecclesiastic also of the same order, was his assistant in the care of the library, and manuscripts and other property of the college. These men proved to be honourable and conscientious trustees for the college in this season of their adversity. All their property was carefully preserved; and when the Protestants became again triumphant was delivered up uninjured. The college of Dublin owes at least this obligation to the Catholic church.

At this period the various departments of the state were respectably filled. A majority of the judges were Catholic, and they were mostly able men, and impartial in the administration of justice. The Chief Baron Rice, one of the ablest men that Ireland has produced, though a warm political partisan, is admitted to have been pure and incorruptible on the bench. The Chief Justice Nugent was a catholic bigot, and his bigotry mingled with, and frequently corrupted, the administration of justice in his court. Keating, chief of the Common Pleas, was a rigid and uncompromising Protestant, but he was a just, wise, and good man. Keating was very free in his advice to James upon the measures he was pursuing: he condemned them without concealment or qualification; and James is entitled to the credit of having continued this good man in

office notwithstanding this freedom: and it deserves to be mentioned, also, to the credit of the Catholics, who now possessed the whole power of the state, that Keating was supported in his office by their unanimous approbation. Nagle, the Attorney-general, was a man of great talent and integrity. Fitton, the Chancellor, was, like Nugent, a mere tool of party, and a man of mean abilities.

After the discomfiture before Derry great confusion appears to have prevailed in James's military councils. Rumours began to spread of William's intention to send a large army into Ireland; yet no measures were adopted to improve the favourable interval which remained, either by a proper attention to the discipline of the Irish army, or by a vigorous prosecution of the war in the north, while yet the whole strength of the royal army could be directed upon the small Protestant corps in that quarter.

Dublin was crowded with soldiers, who were quartered upon the citizens, twenty and thirty on each house. The officers, in like manner, had their quarters upon private individuals; and great numbers of gentlemen of rank, not connected with the army, with their servants and followers, condescended to this mode of saving their money and oppressing the citizens by procuring themselves to be *quartered* upon them. The grievance of this quartering was increased

by the incessant movements of the military. Every day and night the people were alarmed by regiments pouring into the city, while others were as constantly quitting it; and it was impossible to discover the object or occasion of those marches. A camp was begun outside the walls, and the soldiers worked at it for some time; in the course of a few weeks it was frequently discontinued and resumed, but never was completed.

Up to the time of Schomberg's arrival, the same uncertainty and feverish agitation seemed to prevail in the military department.

CHAP. III.

ARRIVAL OF DUKE SCHOMBERG.

THE confusion and embarrassment which prevailed in the military department seem to have arisen from the jealousies and conflicting authorities of the French and Irish commanders; which descended from the generals and superior officers to the soldiers of both nations. James was entirely under the control of the French ambassador; who, together with all his countrymen in Ireland, affected to despise the Irish as a rude, uncivilised people. The Irish, in return, hated the French, as coxcombs and insolent pretenders. Many of the Irish gentlemen who had raised regiments and companies at their private expense were superseded in their commands to make room for Frenchmen appointed by the influence, if not the authority, of the French ambassador. Those gentlemen returned discontented and disgusted to their homes, and were soon followed by their men, who felt for the honour of their chiefs; James and his French advisers not attending to the clanship which

bound the Irish troops to the persons of their leaders.

This discord between the two nations was the occasion, ultimately, of the ruin of James's cause. But it does not appear that he took any pains to remedy so great an evil; on the contrary, he is represented as enjoying at this period the best health and the best humour possible. The French ambassador regulated the affairs of the kingdom; James took care of the nunneries, and devoted much of his time to the profitable trade he carried on with France, and the copper banking system he had so happily established. Every thing tended to promote his ease and gratification. The tradé was flourishing; for James could afford to sell cheap. The nunneries were building. The copper and pewter were coining every day. He levied taxes by proclamation, and without the troublesome intervention of a parliament, which had been the great object and pursuit of his life. He dispensed, of his own authority, with whatever laws he thought proper. There is no doubt that James was perfectly happy, and that this little interval of his reign was a series of enjoyments, which did not permit him to attend to the discontents of his Irish subjects.

In the mean time the breach became every day wider between the blue, and white regiments, of the French king, and the Irish troops. The discontents of the military spread amongst the

people. Rumours were abroad of a treaty between James and Lewis, by which the former stipulated that the kingdom of Ireland should be placed under the protection of France, and that some important fortresses should be ceded to the latter power as securities for the performance of the treaty. The Irish were indignant at being the dependants of France; and they began to think that if they were to be in subjection to any foreign power, they might as well serve their old masters as submit to the yoke of a new lord. If William had at this time offered favourable terms to the Catholics, their dislike of the French, and apprehensions of their designs were strong enough to bring about an accommodation. But William had been unfortunate in his agents, and in his negotiations.

Honour and interest also bound the Irish to James, and they struggled with their discontents. They could not desert a king who, with all his faults, was sincerely their friend, had placed himself under their protection, and depended upon their swords for life and station. Again, could they rely upon William? However just and honourable himself, could he controul the measures of the British or Irish parliament? both violently hostile to the Catholics. The Irish Protestant parliament from interest; the British from prejudice.

William at length had time to attend to the affairs of Ireland, or was compelled to do so. The war with France had commenced with the sea-fight in Bantry Bay between the French and English fleets, commanded by Admiral Herbert and the Count Chateau Renaud. Though the battle was not decisive, the British had the worst. The French landed their stores, arms, and ammunition in safety. Ireland was now open to France; and it would be easy for Lewis, at very small cost of men and money, to keep up a very embarrassing war in that country; and always in his power, with the aid of the large Irish army then on foot, to sever the island from the British crown. Nor was it unlikely that he might find means and opportunity to push his designs to a re-establishment of James on the throne of England.

William's government was not popular in England; and every day increased the number of the discontented. Many of those who had zealously promoted the revolution, with the usual instability of human nature, regretted already the part they had acted, and thought better of James, now that he was at a distance and shorn of his power. In Scotland the Jacobite party were powerful, and led by the bold and intrepid Dundee.

With England wavering, Scotland waging war, France victorious by land and sea, Ireland completed the line of hostile powers which

seemed closing around the Prince of Orange, and the friends of the revolution. Under these circumstances, William could not be spared from the centre of government; neither could the Irish war be any longer neglected.

It was determined, that old general Schomberg should command the Irish expedition. He was a Frenchman, and, notwithstanding his age, which was eighty, he was still a man of great vivacity, resolution, and skill in war. It is a proof of the deep importance which the British parliament attached to this expedition, that the House of Commons sent for Schomberg on his appointment, and the Speaker, having ordered a chair for the veteran, made him a complimentary speech; after which the House voted him a sum of 100,000*l.*, a vast sum of money at that period. In addition to this munificent grant, the general was created a duke by the king, and presented with the order of the garter.

Loaded thus with wealth and honours, Schomberg prepared for the expedition to Ireland. But many delays intervened; and it was the beginning of August before the army were assembled in the neighbourhood of Chester. On Thursday the eighth, at six in the morning, the expedition embarked, consisting of about ten thousand men. Solmes commanded under Schomberg. On Tuesday the thirteenth at day-break, the fleet made the mountains of Morne, in the

county of Down, and proceeding up the bay of Carrickfergus, towards the town of that name, came to anchor in Bangor Bay. The troops landed without opposition, and lay on their arms that night in the fields adjoining the sea-shore.

The garrisons of Carrickfergus, Belfast, and other adjoining posts, might have attacked the Duke with great advantage during the night; and considering that a great portion of this force were new levies, that had never before been out of their own country, and were alike unused to arms and to the sea, it is probable, that, if attacked with spirit, they would have made but a feeble resistance. But the Irish in the neighbourhood had a much higher opinion of the expedition than it deserved, and did not venture to do more than alarm the Duke during the night, without attempting any serious attack.

Schomberg remained upon the ground where he had landed for two or three days, while he sent out detachments to reconnoitre the enemy's positions all around him. He found Belfast and Antrim deserted by the Irish. At Carrickfergus the garrison burned their suburbs and prepared for a siege. Schomberg accordingly turned his attention to this town; and in a few days invested it on all sides by sea and land. The siege was pressed with skill and vigour, and the town as bravely defended. Repeated breaches were made in the walls, which were as rapidly

repaired by the garrison; and the governor, M'Carty Moore, did not surrender till he was reduced to his last barrel of powder. The supply of ammunition in the garrison had been short, and they were forced to strip the lead from Fergus castle, and other houses in the town, to be converted into bullets. But they could not supply the want of powder.

While this little garrison were making this gallant defence against Schomberg's whole force, no attempt was made to relieve them. James was still in Dublin, superintending the nunneries; and his French and Irish officers could not agree upon the plan of the campaign. The garrison was therefore forced to capitulate. They marched out with all the honours of war, drums beating and matches lighting; and were conveyed with all their stores, arms, and public and private property, to the next Irish post. The garrison consisted of no more than two regiments of foot, "lusty strong fellows," says one of Schomberg's officers, "but ill-clad; and to give them their due, they did not behave themselves ill in that siege." They had one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded; the loss of the besiegers was about double.

This was the first operation of Duke Schomberg; and the effect it seems to have had upon his mind, was to indispose him to any incautious attempts upon the Irish. His movements after this

were directed with great reserve and even timidity. The long resistance of so small a place as Carrickfergus, and the almost triumphant terms granted to a garrison of two regiments, by one of the ablest commanders of the age, at the head of ten thousand men, and abundantly supplied with artillery; all this surprized every one, and disappointed the Protestants, who had looked for the most decisive achievements from this army.

On the 3d of September, Schomberg marched to Dromore, where General Hamilton had defeated the northerns, and pursued his route to Loughbrickland and Newry. All this line of country was depopulated; not a human inhabitant or four-footed beast was to be seen. The corn lay rotting on the fields, some cut, and some uncut. In the villages the houses were in ruins, and the gardens waste; some few were uninjured, but all were desolate. No human voice, or village dog, or chirp of domestic fowl, greeted the strangers. The Protestants had fled the country after the defeat at Dromore, and the Catholics now fled in their turn. The Irish divisions, as they retired slowly before the duke, swept the inhabitants before them; burnt the large towns, and destroyed the forage and provisions. The plan of defence adopted against the British general, was that which has so often before, and since, been effectual — the desolation

of the country. In this case, however, little was to be accomplished. The operations of the different corps, under Hamilton, James, De Rosen, and M'Carty, had left little to do.

Near Loughbrickland, Schomberg was joined by three regiments of Enniskillen horse. These troops, the fame of whose exploits had been spread abroad, excited much attention in the British camp. Their appearance was remarkable. They were a fine and hardy body of men; but resembled more a horde of wild Arabs, or Italian banditti, than a body of European cavalry. They observed little order in their military movements; and no uniformity of dress or accoutrement. Every soldier was armed and clad according to his own fancy; and each man was attended, like the Asiatic military, by a servant mounted on an inferior horse, and carrying his heavy arms and baggage.

But they were distinguished by an astonishing rapidity of movement, and a boldness, or rather fierceness and contempt, of all difficulty and danger, which made them almost invincible. They never calculated obstacles, or counted numbers, but rushed to the attack with the ferocity and exultation of the tiger when bounding upon his prey. That the enemy was Popish was enough to excite horror and contempt. To hesitate in attacking such a foe was disgrace worse than death; and to slaughter them a more

acceptable service to the Lord, than a smoking holocaust offered by David himself.

These strange troops were religious men, or thought they were. Their memories were abundantly stored with scraps of the Old Testament, chiefly relating to the massacres and spoliations committed by the Jews. Upon these they formed themselves, and with these they justified their practices. They were robbers and murderers. They spared no man's life or property. When spoil was not otherwise to be had, they never hesitated to plunder their own party, whether Irish Protestants or British allies. They were a fearful scourge in the country, and aggravated dreadfully the calamities of the war: but they were scrupulous to have their proper establishment of chaplains, or gifted preachers of the word; and heard prayers, and out-pourings of the Spirit regularly. The Derrymen were in all respects similar to the Enniskilleners.

The Enniskilleners could not endure the restraints of discipline; and, when placed under Schomberg's command, they said of themselves, that "they should never thrive so long as they were under orders;" and they were right. They were a kind of Cossack cavalry, that were of no use unless left to themselves, and their irregularities connived at. Schomberg did not understand them; and General Ginckle, at a later period of the war, considered them a nuisance, and hated them cordially.

The Irish burnt Newry as they retired; and Schomberg continued his march to Dundalk. The country between those two towns was wild, desolate, and quite in a state of nature. Intersected by vast bogs, mountains, woods, and defiles, it had been the retreat of Redmond O'Hanlan, still celebrated in the popular tales of the country as a bold and noble Rapparee. O'Hanlan is represented as a hero and a robber; and he was both. The descendant of one of the noblest families of Ulster, he had been reduced, by repeated confiscations of his family property, to utter destitution. The woods and mountains became his only secure retreat, and his only patrimony his sword. At the head of a few faithful and desperate followers, he waged interminable war upon the *settlers* on the hereditary property of the O'Hanlans, once the proud standard-bearers of Ulster.

Report had magnified Schomberg's army at their landing to more than double their real numbers. The Irish generals were long before they could be brought to believe that a commander of such high reputation, and concerning whose expedition the king, the parliament, and the whole English nation, had made so great a stir, could have committed himself at the head of so small a force. This impression afforded Schomberg an opportunity which the resolute defence of Carrickfergus deterred him from availing

himself of. If he had pushed on boldly, while the notion prevailed of his being at the head of a great army, he might have succeeded in striking a great blow.

When Schomberg landed, the Irish army were scattered in all directions. Many of the regiments had marched into the south to recruit and refit after the northern campaign, and were dispersed in cantonments. The Irish force in the north was inconsiderable. But Schomberg had no sooner debarked, than he felt he had unwarily committed himself. The transports with his stores and provisions were not arrived. The Irish plan of wasting the country made it difficult for him to supply his army. He could not venture to quit the coast, and break off his communications with the fleet: and the slowness and hesitation of his movements soon revealed the secret of his weakness and his wants.

On the first news of Schomberg's landing, the French marshal, De Rosse, advised to abandon Drogheda and Dublin, and concentrate the Irish army at Athlone and Limerick. De Rosse was under the general impression that Schomberg brought a large force. Tyrconnel, who lay sick at Chapel-Izod, on hearing this proposition, had himself conveyed to Drogheda, where the council of war was sitting, and strenuously opposed it; promising that on the *next night* he would have an army of twenty thousand men assem-

bled at Drogheda. This surprised the council, and it was agreed to wait. Tyrconnel knew his countrymen, and was sensible that to retreat would be fatal.... The Irish, like the French, require to be kept in a high degree of confidence and spirits. They are subject to panic and despondency; and, in those circumstances, may be vanquished by an army armed with straws. But when their confidence is established, and their spirits rise with that full flow of joyousness and gaiety of heart which is natural to them, death and danger and battle become mere sport, and they are then perhaps the most formidable troops in Europe.

When De Rosse found that Schomberg halted, he fully concurred with Tyrconnel. He concluded immediately that the British commander was weak or ill-supplied. "He wants something," said De Rosse.

Tyrconnel kept his word. The army came by forced marches from all parts of Munster, and assembled at Drogheda. They were in high spirits, and anxious to meet the enemy. As the Irish army increased, Schomberg took measures of greater precaution. He fell back; and choosing a position between Dundalk and the sea, protected by mountains, rivers, and morasses, he formed an intrenched camp, and determined to wait the arrival of reinforcements. His position was well chosen, as to defence, and with a

view to keeping open his communication with the sea. But it was low and damp. The weather, since his arrival, had been particularly wet and tempestuous, and his army had already suffered greatly from a humidity of climate they had been unaccustomed to.

Schomberg had no confidence in his army; which was mostly composed of new levies that had never seen service. He kept them at constant exercise within his lines, and hard labour on his intrenchments. His new English levies complained bitterly of the work, and were clamorous to be led into action. They had come to Ireland, they said, to fight like soldiers, not to labour like slaves. Their discontent was aggravated by the extreme wetness of the weather, and the low and swampy situation of their camp, which soon introduced disease amongst them.

The intrenchments of the British camp were hardly complete, when the Irish army approached in great force, displaying the royal standard, and offering battle. The British army were eager to fight. They were tired of the labour of the trenches, and weary of their confined and unwholesome situation. But Schomberg would not venture to engage. He kept himself securely within his lines, and bore the tauntings of the enemy and the indignation of his own soldiers with invincible patience.

James was at the head of his army; and, satisfied with the proud display of the royal stand-

ard, and the offer of battle, was not disposed to push his valour further. In this moderate mode of waging war, the voice of his army was against him. The Irish army, like the British, longed for battle. But James was resolute not to attack Schomberg in his camp, and the latter was determined not to commit himself in battle out of it. "Had your majesty," said De Rosse, (when he failed in bringing James to battle,) "ten kingdoms, you would lose them all."

James took up a position at a little distance from the English camp, upon a piece of elevated and dry ground, where his army enjoyed an abundant supply of food, and a wholesome situation; and by annoying and cutting off the supplies of the British, he added considerably to their embarrassments.

Disease was already doing execution upon Schomberg's army, when, to add to his difficulties, it was discovered that disaffection prevailed to a considerable extent amongst the French troops in his camp. The French regiments in William's service were chiefly Protestants, but some Catholics had found their way into those reformed battalions; and they had formed a conspiracy to go over to James on the first convenient opportunity, and had established a communication with their countrymen in the Irish army for this purpose. The conspiracy was discovered; several were hanged; all the French were involved in the disgrace of this

treachery; and the concealed antipathy which had existed for some time between the soldiers of both nations, broke out with violence. The two hostile camps exhibited similar dissensions; in the one, the English and French Protestants were at variance; in the other, the French and Irish Catholics. But James's camp displayed the standard of the *grand monarque;* and the fame and glory of Lewis had still its power upon French minds, though Protestant, and suffering under his cruel persecutions.

Schomberg was alarmed, and thought it necessary that his army should undergo a purification, by which he hoped to expel all taint and infection of popery. General orders were issued that all Catholics in the army should declare themselves at head-quarters. There were not found many, except amongst the French, and these were not numerous. The whole were disarmed, and sent under a guard to Carlingford; and to make assurance more complete, all officers of the army who had not taken the sacrament according to the forms of the Protestant church since the date of their commissions, were ordered to do so forthwith. Schomberg only followed the example set him by the laws of England, in this shocking profanation of the Lord's Supper. He employed it as a countersign in his camp; the law makes use of it as an introductory qualification for office.

The position of the Irish camp placed Schomberg in a state of siege, while fever raged to a frightful extent within his lines. Food could only be procured from the ships, and this was bad and insufficient. From the wetness of the winter, the camp had become quite a morass. The French and Dutch soldiers made some attempts to make themselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit; they built huts and used various contrivances to keep out the wet, and not without some success. But the British soldiers could not be prevailed upon to use any precaution; they remained wallowing in the mire of their tents, refusing to assist themselves, or even to remove the dead bodies of their comrades as they died; and when persons were sent to take them away for interment, the soldiers were found using them as seats round their miserable fires, and as screens against the winds. The men grumbled at being deprived of those melancholy accommodations. The mortality every day increased. The soldiers were now indifferent to death; but complained bitterly in dying, that they were not permitted to fight their way out of the "poisonous rat hole" in which Schomberg had shut them up.

But the duke was still immoveable, and bore the dying reproaches of his soldiers, and the frightful mortality that raged around him with wonderful patience. Undoubtedly his army was

now in no condition to fight, though he had encamped with ten thousand men, and had, since his landing, received reinforcements to the amount of about five or six thousand more, yet his whole force, when he broke up from his position, did not exceed eight thousand men.

Notwithstanding the miserable condition of Schomberg's army, James persisted in his determination not to attack the English camp; it was in vain represented to him that the British could offer but a feeble resistance; that his own army were more than double their numbers, and were in the best health and spirits; that on the approach of spring, William would probably take the command himself, and bring over a new army, and if the present opportunity of striking a decisive blow were permitted to pass, such another might never present itself. But the King could not be moved to fight. James had probably been frightened by the siege of Derry, as Schomberg had been intimidated by that of Carrickfergus; neither were disposed for combat, though both armies longed to be engaged.

The spirit which the Irish army afterwards displayed at the Boyne, and at Aughrim, showed that James committed a fatal error in declining the attack of Schomberg's camp. The army had been considerably improved since the siege of Derry, and nothing apparently could prevent

the success of the proposed enterprise, unless it were the presence of James himself.

The accounts given by eye witnesses of the strange conduct of the British soldiers in the camp near Dundalk are very curious, and represent the character of the lower English somewhat different from what we find it at the present day. We observe none of that providence and thriftiness, that love of comfort and pains-taking efforts to procure it, which has distinguished the nation since. They could not be got to *work* either for their defence or their convenience, though very willing to fight: nothing indeed is discernible in the conduct of the soldiers, of the character of the present Englishman, except their courage and the obstinate doggedness with which they persevered to the last, in the course which they adopted in the beginning, to mark their discontent with the proceedings of the general; but there was no mutiny; they were obedient even to the last extremity; they would have fought to please themselves, but since that did not please the general, they died indignant in their "rat holes," as they called the camp, but they would not resist authority.

At length the winter being far advanced, the Irish army broke up from camp, and marched to Ardee; the whole fruit of their winter's campaign being nothing more than the glory of

having defied the British to battle, and having added to the distresses of Schomberg's camp.

Schomberg was now at liberty to break up also from the pestilent marsh where so many of his army had perished. He made haste to use the liberty he had acquired; the army quitted the fatal camp at Dundalk with joy; but the prospect before them was dreary. The hills and mountains were covered with snow; the roads were broken and flooded, and all the low grounds were under water; the cold was excessive; the wind was high and tempestuous, accompanied with storms of rain and sleet. It was in such weather that the sick and fainting columns of the British army set out upon their march to winter quarters. They were pursued in their route by the pestilence which had thinned their ranks within the lines.

The columns were preceded by a long line of waggons loaded with the sick. As these heavy machines were dragged over the broken roads, a cry of anguish proceeded at every step from the jolted and suffering soldiers. Every jolt put a period to the miseries of a considerable number, and men were appointed to heave out the bodies as the train moved along. When the heads of the columns arrived, they had to pass through an avenue of dead thrown from the waggons, and lining both sides of the road; to these the regiments made a large addition; great

numbers fell from weakness on the way-side, and many sat down in despair and impatience of their sufferings, and met the death they courted.

The vessels in the bay had been filled with sick before the marching of the army, and were ordered to proceed to Belfast. Several, when they arrived at the end of this short voyage, were empty; the whole cargo having died and been thrown overboard.

Nothing could exceed the vexation and disappointment which the accounts of the inaction and sufferings of Duke Schomberg's army occasioned in England. The high opinion that had been entertained of that commander; the ceremony of his introduction to the House of Commons; the grant of 100,000*l.* for services to be performed; the honours of the garter and dukedom — all this prodigality of anticipated gratitude, in which the king and the parliament vied with each other, evinced the deep interest which rested upon the operations of Schomberg's army in Ireland, and may serve to indicate the degree of astonishment and dismay with which all classes of persons heard that the British army was blockaded and perishing in their camp. The news was received with amazement and consternation. Treachery alone, it was thought, could account for the surprising fact, that a powerful British army, and the most skilful general in Europe, were in a state of

captivity to an Irish army, commanded by the dastardly and popish James.

Parliament was roused; and undertook to inquire into the causes of those strange occurrences, as well as into the events of the siege of Derry. They made application to the king, that the minutes of the Committee of Council which superintended the affairs of Ireland, should be laid before them. The king declined to comply. The Commons angrily resolved, "that his advisers were enemies to the king and kingdom;" and, at length, they obtained the minutes. But they could make little of them, and found it necessary to examine witnesses, and satisfy themselves.

They committed Lundy, formerly governor of Derry, to the Tower; and addressed the king, proposing that he should be transmitted to Derry, to abide his trial there by court-martial.

While the Commons were busy with their inquiry, Walker, the celebrated clerico-military commandant of Derry, arrived in London with an address to the king from that town. He was received with great favour; and soon became an object of the utmost curiosity and attention in London. The city made an entertainment for him; and wherever he went, the admiring populace greeted the champion of Derry, and the hero of the Protestant faith, with loud applause and acclamation. His majesty

presented him with the more substantial attestation to his merit of 5000*l.*

Walker had put off his military accoutrement, and appeared as a simple clergyman; and all wondered how so quiet and peaceable a looking person could have set the arch papist James and his army of tall and ferocious Irishmen at defiance. Walker was now invited to attend the House of Commons; and the thanks of the house were voted and delivered in form by the Speaker, in an address full of compliment to the pious and heroic man who had rendered such important service to the Protestant cause. The house condescended to ask his advice upon the affairs of Ireland; and, at his suggestion, they addressed the king, praying His Majesty to distribute a sum of 10,000*l.* amongst the widows and orphans of those who perished in the defence of Derry. They consulted him upon Schomberg's failure, and adopted his opinion, that the disasters of that commander were very much owing to the fraudulent practices of the commissary Shoales. And the house, in consequence, presented an address to the king, praying that Shoales should be taken into custody, and requesting to know by whose advice he had been employed?

To this inquiry, the king declined to give any answer. But he proposed, in order to meet the object the Commons had in view, that the house

should appoint a committee of their own members to superintend the affairs of Ireland. This proposition disarmed the house for a moment. They declined, however, to act upon it; and soon returned to their grand grievance, of the mismanagement of the Irish war. And they so completely wore out the patience of their new king, that it is said he had nearly made up his mind to abandon his English crown, or restore it to the donors, and seek that confidence and quiet in the republican states of Holland which the British monarchy denied him. But William's philosophy was not equal to so splendid an act. He soon changed his mind, and preferred conquering popularity in Ireland to the dignified retirement of his principality of Holland.

But the Commons were not acting a merely vexatious part. The predominant party in that house were seriously alarmed at the state of things in Ireland, and were vexed with what they considered the king's neglect and mismanagement of the affairs of that country. They calculated that the disasters which had befallen the British arms under Schomberg would encourage Lewis to a vigorous prosecution of the Irish war; and, after what had just occurred, they were alarmed for the result. They shuddered at the expense and the dangers of a long contest. James had still a powerful party in

Scotland; and even in England he possessed materials for a great struggle. The success, or even the protraction of the Irish war, would encourage his partisans in Great Britain, already increased by the unpopular manners of the Dutch prince. The Whigs could not do without William, nor William without the Whigs; but they hated each other cordially.

The Commons had used Walker and other Irish refugees with some address against the king, as well as for the purpose of keeping alive a strong feeling in England upon the Irish question. Walker, full of his own exploits and the importance of Derry to the Protestant cause, did not perceive that he was used as a mere political instrument. But William did not afterwards forget the annoyance which this clerical soldier occasioned him.

Parliament suspected that the king's eye was more in Holland and the Low Countries than in Ireland. They could hardly doubt, that, however proud he might be to wear the crown of England on his head, he wore the simple wreath of Holland round his heart, and loved it better. The time was however come when it was necessary for William to devote himself for a season to the Irish war. The rumour of his intention raised the spirits of the army in Ireland; and they began to venture upon some small enterprises.

CHAP IV.

Schomberg was in winter quarters, and not yet disposed to attempt any thing of moment. He wisely committed the conduct of the war of posts and surprises, which filled up the interval till William's arrival, to the hardy Protestant corps of the north. Several of these corps and some regiments of British infantry were under the command of Colonel Woolsey, a northern officer of activity and enterprise. Belturbet had been lately surprised and garrisoned by the Enniskilleners; and it was reported that the Irish were collecting a force at Cavan to recover that post. To prevent this, Woolsey determined to surprise the Irish in Cavan. He marched after nightfall with all his force, intending to be at Cavan before the morning light, and anticipating a complete surprise. But the roads were bad, and with the utmost expedition it was morning before he reached Cavan; where, instead of surprising the Irish, he was himself surprised. He found the enemy drawn up in order of battle near the town, and quietly waiting his approach.

The Irish were said to be about three thousand and the Northerns not two; but it was now impossible to avoid the combat. Woolsey harangued his men upon the necessity of being brave upon this occasion, when flight or retreat would be certain destruction. The Enniskillen horse were ordered to advance; but were charged by the Irish cavalry, and driven back upon their foot: the infantry were forced to fire upon them, and killed several. The Irish horse having pursued the fugitives too far, were exposed in their turn to the fire of the British infantry as they passed them to regain their own body.

Woolsey's infantry now advanced up the hill on which the enemy's foot were posted. As they approached, the Irish received them with a volley from right to left; but, like most down-hill firing, it went over the heads of the assailants. The British quickened their pace, and, when very near, poured a destructive fire upon the enemy. The Irish wavered, broke, and fled into the town, followed by Woolsey's infantry. In the town the combat was renewed; the fortune of the battle was changed, and the British were on the point of being wholly cut off, when Woolsey ordered the town to be set on fire, in order to cover the retreat of his men. This manœuvre succeeded. Though the battle was continued with great obstinacy in the

flames, Woolsey was enabled to make good his retreat, but not without considerable loss.

This kind of warfare was now waged with various success and upon a large scale. On the one side, the Enniskilleners, under which name all the Protestant corps of the north were included, were particularly fitted for sudden and daring encounters; and for all those operations in which discipline and regularity could be safely dispensed with. But they do not appear to have had any leader of much celebrity, or easily to have admitted the control of authority. On the other side, the Irish army furnished numerous corps even better fitted for this species of war; and they had the advantage of having the whole population as allies; an advantage that must always ensure success in partisan warfare, depending so much as it does upon the rapidity with which intelligence is conveyed, and the fidelity with which secrecy is guarded. In all Irish warfare, even in the insurrections of the peasantry, nothing excites our surprise and admiration more than the fidelity of the people to their own cause; and the swiftness with which every rumour and occurrence is conveyed through the country. The attack upon Cavan had been concerted with the utmost care and caution; but it was known before Woolsey moved.

Sarsefield commanded a corps of light troops much more formidable than the Enniskilleners; and whose operations were conducted with more skill, because more under authority of their distinguished commander. Sarsefield was a man of great talent; and though neither he nor Hamilton were equal to be the successors of Owen O'Neil, they were well entitled, and particularly Sarsefield, to be considered men of eminence in their profession. Sarsefield commanded the cavalry; and under his command the Irish horse, in a very early period of the war, arrived at a high state of discipline. They never met the Enniskilleners, themselves a formidable cavalry, without putting them to the rout, and of William's infantry, his Dutch guards, and some regiments of British grenadiers, alone stood their charge: his Danes, French, Brandenburgers, and all his other infantry, fled before them.

Sarsefield was as active at the head of his light corps as Woolsey, and more successful; he took Sligo, Ballyshannon, and several other posts in the north from the French Protestants and Enniskilleners.

James continued still in Dublin; engaged in the manufacture of money, and the pursuits of trade. His traffic with France was awkwardly interrupted by the appearance of the British commodore, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the bay of Dublin, where James had a solitary frigate

lying at anchor; the only flag of his once splendid fleet that adhered to his fallen fortunes. Shovel attacked this frigate at Polebeg; James heard the firing from the city, and, sanguine as ever, concluded it to be the royal navy of England, returning to their duty; he immediately got on horse, and, accompanied by his guards, rode to the sea side, to receive and pardon his repentant subjects; but he witnessed only the loss of his last frigate, which Shovel had cut out of the bay, as James arrived at the shore.

Schomberg's army was now considerably improved in health and spirits, and the old general set himself diligently to work, to add an improvement in morals. In several general orders and proclamations, he enjoins a strict attendance upon divine service on Sundays, and at prayers every day; he forbids all cursing, swearing, and profaneness in soldiers and commanders, to which, he says, the army was particularly addicted, as well as to "all imaginable wickedness:" and he intimates his opinion, that the late disasters and sickness which had befallen them were judgments upon them for their sins. The general also appointed a certain day in the week, on which any country people having complaints against the army should be heard and redressed.

But it is to be feared that those excellent regulations were little attended to; we have too

much reason to think, that if the early misfortunes of Schomberg's army are to be attributed to their sins, their subsequent successes under William are hardly to be ascribed to any material moral improvement.

From March to May every week brought arrivals of troops, English, Danish, Brandenburgers, Dutch, and from every nation and country, to reinforce Schomberg's army: these were accompanied by abundant supplies of provisions, warlike stores, artillery, and whatever was necessary to put the army into the most efficient condition.

All Europe was at this period divided into a Catholic and Protestant interest; a division which has long since disappeared from the Continent, and lingers only in the British Islands. William had talents enough to put himself at the head of the Protestant interest of Europe; Lewis of France had long been at the head of the Catholic party. The importance which the Prince derived from his position, as head of the Protestant league (for it might be so called), compensated him for the small extent of his dominions, and enabled him to recruit his ranks, and even to draw supplies, from the Protestant subjects of every state in Europe; he thus obtained a heterogeneous kind of army, animated, indeed, by one sentiment as to religion, but divided by the various jealousies of country, language, and habits;

and it required all the energy and steadiness of William's character to effect much with so imperfect a machine.

While William was pouring troops and supplies into Ireland, Lewis was by no means equally active in his preparations for the approaching campaign; he sent, indeed, about five thousand French infantry, under General Count Lauzun and the Marquess de Lery, who were landed at Kinsale; and this reinforcement would have been of material effect upon the war, had he not required as many Irish troops in exchange. Lord Mount Cashel (M'Carty More) was dispatched to France at the head of an equal force, and thus some of the best troops in the Irish army and one of its ablest officers were withdrawn from the war: the French did little during the campaign; and badly supplied the place of M'Carty's division.

Schomberg, now at the head of a considerable force, opened the campaign with an attack upon Charlemont; this fortress was situated upon the Blackwater; it was defended by a morass upon all sides, and was approachable by two narrow causeways only, both of which had been rendered nearly impracticable; it had been built in the course of O'Neil's war, to protect the northern British frontier from the incursions of that chieftain. The Irish had lately strengthened the fortress by additional works, and had levelled the town of Charlemont, that it might not afford

cover to an approaching enemy. The garrison was good, and commanded by a brave officer of the name of O'Regan.

Teague O'Regan was an old man, blunt, brave, and a humorist. On being summoned by Duke Schomberg, he desired the herald to tell his master, "that he was an old knave, and should not have the castle." The duke replied good humoredly, "that he would give Teague greater reason for anger in a little time." But he found the accomplishment of his threat a more difficult matter than he anticipated. O'Regan was resolute, and seemed determined to make Charlemont as tough a job at least as Carrickfergus had been to the duke. Schomberg made no impression upon the castle, but he knew that the supply of provisions was short, and would soon be exhausted. An attempt was made to throw some provisions into the castle, by a small corps commanded by colonel Mac Mahon; who succeeded with great gallantry and address in making his way through the besiegers with his whole corps and convoy. O'Regan received the provisions gladly, but positively declined receiving Mac Mahon's men. He calculated that the detachment, which consisted of five hundred men, would speedily eat up the provisions they brought, and as he did not want men, unless they could make their way back again, their enterprise would be of no

advantage to him. But the besiegers were now alive to the movements of this little corps, and to pass through them again with success would be impossible. O'Regan was obstinate, and would not admit them into the castle; he had received, and deposited the stores they brought; and coldly advised them to make their way back as they came. Finding the governor not to be moved, they made a bold attempt to follow his advice. But their bravery was in vain against the superior numbers of the enemy; and they were forced back under the castle walls. O'Regan beheld their condition from his ramparts, but still refused to admit them; and this unlucky detachment were compelled to take up their quarters upon the counterscarp, between the fortress and the enemy. At length the garrison were reduced to the last extremity, and compelled to treat. The governor offered to capitulate, and proposed his own terms, which Schomberg immediately accepted. He was anxious to get possession of the fort, and he knew that old O'Regan was hard to deal with.

The garrison marched out with their arms, ammunition, horses, baggage, and private property of all kinds, with all the pomp and parade of war, and were to proceed to Dundalk, at what rate of march they pleased, &c. The soldiers, when marched out, appeared to have their arms in excellent order, but their clothing

was worn out in the siege. Old O'Regan himself, the intractable governor of the castle, was the most comical figure of the garrison. He was a small man past seventy years of age, with a hunch upon his back, a huge grizzly wig, scarlet coat, white hat and feather, immense boots, and large heavy cloak. He rode a horse which appeared selected for the most extraordinary viciousness and deformity.

The old man made his compliments to Duke Schomberg, as well as the ill-humour of his horse would permit him; and Schomberg, who was even his senior, was too brave, and too much a humourist in his own way, not to treat him with the utmost courtesy and respect. The governor, pleased with the civilities of the British general, drew up his garrison to salute him. The duke as he inspected this small corps of eight hundred men, expressed his astonishment at the number of women (about two hundred) which they brought with them; especially when they had so scanty a stock of provisions. O'Regan replied, "that the Irish loved the society of their women and children; and that if he had put these outside the walls, he did not know whether the men would be so fond of keeping their ground within." The duke observed, "that there was more love than policy in it." So indelible is the character of nations, that

we are inclined to think a modern Irish garrison, notwithstanding the years that have passed, and all their train of events, would differ but little on this point from Teague O'Regan's garrison at Charlemont. Nor are we disposed to quarrel with the "love and impolicy" of our countrymen in this regard, when we compare the conduct of the Irish army throughout this whole war with that of William's reformed soldiers.

Though there were so many women in the garrison at Charlemont, there were but two Priests; a remarkable circumstance as the women in Ireland are the great depositaries of the faith. One of those clergymen, in the mingling of the soldiers of both nations, upon the retreat, got into a theological discussion with a British dragoon. The subject was transubstantiation, which it seems was as hard to settle at that time as it has been since; and the "end of controversy" also differed little from the accustomed method which has prevailed in all *Christian* ages and countries. The priest was bold enough to strike the dragoon, for being, as he conceived, irreverent upon the subject; and the dragoon not choosing to be behind hand with the reverend father in any kind of argumentation, rejoined vigorously, according to this genuine Irish fashion of settling points of theology. But he pushed the argument, it seems, a little too home, and a messenger was dispatched to

governor O'Regan, to acquaint him with the ill-treatment the priest had suffered.

O'Regan was at dinner with Duke Schomberg when the messenger arrived; but he attended to him instantly. Teague heard the story with the utmost patience; and then dryly observed that he was very glad the priest had got it. "What had he to do," said O'Regan "to dispute religion with a dragoon?" The messenger was dismissed, and reported the observation of the governor; and the whole garrison, who had felt for the honour of their nation and religion upon this occasion, laughed and thought it unanswerable. Their good humour was further promoted by a present from Duke Schomberg of a loaf of bread for every man, woman and child of the garrison; a very acceptable present; as they had been for some days feeding on their knapsacks, and the flesh and hides of dead horses.

O'Regan knew his countrymen well when he concluded that good sense and a joke would disarm their strongest prejudices. No people are more open to reason than the Irish, or more alive to humour; and we might remark, that even at this period, when they were supposed to be in so great subjection to the church, they bore the chastisement of their priest with great patience, when they were assured that he deserved it.

On the 6th of June, the grand park of artillery for the British army arrived in Carrickfergus Bay, accompanied by a quantity of other arms and stores, and two hundred carpenters for the military service. On the 14th, the king himself landed from England in the same place.

CHAP. V.

ARRIVAL OF KING WILLIAM.

THE king was accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, Lord Oxford, Lord Scarborough, Lord Manchester, the Honourable Mr. Boyle, and other persons of distinction.

His Majesty attended divine service at the established church the day after his landing, and a sermon was preached before him by Dr. Royse, who took his text, very appropriately, from Heb. xi. 33. "Through faith they subdued kingdoms." But the doctor did not advert that the faith of James was even more large and unquestioning than that of William, and that as between these contending kings, the father-in-law had certainly the advantage of the son-in-law, as to this spiritual weapon.

The episcopal clergy waited immediately upon William, as they had done upon James, with an address, in which they bestow due commendation upon his zeal for the church, and the protestant cause; and the excellent means he

was employing for promoting the peace of the kingdom. They wish him all imaginable success and victory, and that "his enemies may flee before him;" and that God, after a long and peaceful reign, "may change his laurels into a crown of glory." It has been justly objected to the Protestant church, that it is too much and too forward in asserting itself to be "a part of the state." Even in its sublime and admirable service there is too strong and solicitous a recollection of the powers and authorities of this world, amounting almost to a worship even less pure than what the Catholic offers to his saint.

The established church could not fairly complain of James. He had kept good faith with them; he had not touched the church lands; he restored the churches which the Catholics had deprived them of wherever they could make it appear that they had any congregations, or were otherwise justly entitled; and he resisted all the efforts and persuasions of the Catholic clergy to make him depart from the rule he had laid down in this respect.

The Catholic clergy had also a short time before waited upon James in full body, and presented him with a memorial and address. The address was presented by the Archbishop of Dublin. In their memorial they make due commendation of the king's zeal for the truth and promotion of the Catholic religion, and then proceed to point

out to His Majesty the most effectual means of accomplishing the great end he had in view.

These means they reduce almost to a single point, the restoration of church property to the ancient establishment. They state the arguments that could be urged for the measure, and dwell upon their weight and cogency; and they refute the reasonings that were advanced on the other side against so proper and reasonable a proceeding. "All His Majesty's former condescensions to the reformed religion," they insist, "were in vain to win that rebellious community to his royal interest, and always would be so;" and they show that the Catholic religion cannot effectually keep its ground with the people, except it be restored to its temporalities. "For we find by experience," say the bishops, "that the people now-a-days, generally speaking, will not much heed or regard the exhortations or threatenings of their ghostly directors, when they see them reduced to so low an ebb of indigence, as to depend of themselves for their spiritual power and authority."

There is no novelty in this argument. The Catholics used it formerly to obtain restitution of church property; the Protestants use it at this day to retain it. Experience seems to prove that both are wrong: the Protestant church kept the tithes and church lands, but lost the people; the Catholic clergy were deprived of

their wealth, but the people could not be taken from them. The influence of the Catholic clergy over their congregations is admitted to be almost in proportion to their worldly dependency upon them, while that of their Protestant rivals diminishes according to the degree of their independency; and this result of experience is according to nature and reason. The independency of the clergyman makes him careless of his duties, or lifts him above them; his dependency makes him zealous and attentive. It is sometimes thought that a clergyman dependent upon his congregation for his support, must be indulgent to their vices; but this is a mistake; by such a conduct he would lose character even with the persons he thus sought to please, and would incur the very risk he was endeavouring to avoid. A strict and faithful discharge of his duty as a clergyman will be found to be the best security for the regular payment of his income, when collected by voluntary donation. The surest mode of abating the influence of any clergy is to make them independent of their congregations.

This principle was tried with success upon the Presbyterian church of Ireland so early as the reign of Charles the First, when Strafford reduced the power of the clergy of that communion at the small cost of 500*l.* a year distributed amongst them. The grant was con-

tinued by Lord Ormond, who copied Strafford in so many particulars, and was increased and systematised by other and more recent imitators of that great exemplar of Irish statesmen. The Presbyterian spirit has been effectually tamed by this small contact with the public purse.

King William was not many days in Ireland when he expressed an impatience of Schomberg's tardy proceedings. "He did not come to Ireland," he said, "to let the grass grow under his feet." William commenced by inquiring into the habits and discipline of his army, which he found as bad as possible. The discipline of Schomberg's British troops had been almost destroyed by the suffering and distresses they had endured; and his foreign soldiers had not mended the matter much.

William issued a proclamation against seizing the horses or other property of the country people; and published a variety of regulations tending to restrain the excesses of the soldiery. After this he formed his first camp at Loughbrickland on the 21st of June. The Irish army at the same time drew towards Dundalk, and encamped along the line of the river. From this position they soon broke up, and fell back upon the Boyne, which had long been fixed upon as the position where the first struggle with the enemy was to be tried.

William moved forward and encamped at Hillsborough. From this time he never quitted his army day or night. He had brought with him from England a wooden house, so constructed as to be taken asunder and put together in a few minutes, and which afforded him many conveniences and accommodations. He paid the most minute and incessant attention to the comforts and accommodations of the soldiery; and refused to look into the accounts respecting his own table and household till those of the army were despatched. When accounts for wine for his own table were presented to him, he put them aside, and said, "he would drink water, till the soldiers were provided for."

This might be mere acting, no doubt, but there is no reason to suspect that William was not quite sincere. The struggle he was now engaged in was a vital one; and he was not a man, like James, to be insensible to the perils that encompassed him. He was aware that it was not the crown of Ireland only he had to contend for, but that of Great Britain also; and if both should be lost, his position in Holland would be very insecure.

The British force consisted of about forty thousand men, well clothed, well armed, and in all respects amply supplied and provided for. On the thirtieth the army moved beyond Ardee, by a road running along the sea-beach; which

gave them a view of their fleet steering with a fine breeze for Drogheda, and forming a long line upon the coast. The king viewed the country with much attention as he rode along, and observed that "it was well worth fighting for;" an opinion which has been often echoed since, and which the experience of so many sanguinary combats leaves no doubt had been entertained before.

On the march through Ardee a French soldier of William's army fell sick, and, lying on the way side, took out his beads to pray; the man was a Catholic. A Danish regiment coming up, were seized with a horror of this popish emblem, which even William's uniform could not mitigate. The foremost soldier levelled his musket, and shot the sick man. This incident may serve to show the Christian charity which at that time prevailed amongst the sects. The Christian religion, under all its denominations, had become a bloody and barbarous creed. The reformed worship was less disfigured with superstition, but it was a more energetic and vigorous modification of cruelty and barbarity. The soldier who shot the beadsman was not more criminal than the legislators who persecuted and despoiled by act of parliament, the professors of the religion of Rome.

The Irish army had now crossed the Boyne, and taken their position with that river in front;

William continued to advance cautiously till the last day of the month of June, when he pressed forward with his whole army, in three lines, towards the river. On the other side, James quitted Dublin, at the head of about six thousand French infantry, to join his army on the Boyne.

With this reinforcement the Irish army were still inferior to the British in numbers, and more inferior in the quality and appointments of the troops. A large portion were recruits, enlisted in Munster only a few months before; and a great part were still without arms. The British dragoons had taken some days before, in the neighbourhood of Drogheda, several hundred of scythes which had just been fitted upon poles, for the use of the Irish infantry. When they were brought to William he smiled, and observed, "they were formidable weapons." The greater part of the Irish troops had never been in action; and, except some of their generals, their officers were wholly unacquainted with military affairs.

With such an army was James about to contend for the crown of England, against a more numerous force, composed of the finest troops in Europe; veterans of many campaigns, formed in the wars of the Continent, and led by the ablest commanders of the age.

James's officers dissuaded him from the fight. They represented, "that his army, though now quite unequal to the contest, was rapidly im-

proving in skill and confidence in themselves; that reinforcements were every day expected from France; that these would at least make them equal to the enemy in numbers; that they were in want of arms, artillery, and stores, all which might be expected also from France in a short period; that their policy was clearly to protract the war, and wear out the enemy by a contest of posts and sieges. Unskilled as his army might be in the field, they had proved themselves steady and resolute in the defence of fortified places; they held all the great fortresses of the kingdom; and it would be easy to provide for their defence, and to occupy William's army in small affairs till the winter, when the climate would do execution upon them; while his Irish army would suffer little. Then would be the time to fight."

"In the mean time," it was urged, "the intrigues of the French, now in a state of forwardnesss in Britain would have produced some effect; the French fleet was every day expected on the coast of England, and William would soon be compelled to return to that country, if not to recal the greater part of his army. In Scotland, too, the French were busy; and there were materials in that country for creating a powerful invasion. To fight now would be to forego every advantage; and to meet the views of William, whose obvious interest it was to

bring the contest to an immediate decision, now, while every circumstance was in his favour."

All these arguments, and many more, were urged upon James to dissuade him from the trial of strength he meditated at the Boyne. But they were urged in vain. By one of those extraordinary and unaccountable impulses which every now and then puzzle and astonish mankind, James had suddenly become valiant. The magnanimous prince turned with disdain from the timid counsel. He would listen only to stories of "flood and field." He said that he rejoiced that an opportunity was at length afforded him of fighting one fair battle for his crown." Men heard him with amazement and delight, and fancied that the spirit of Hotspur, or the genius of the Black Prince had descended, for the redemption of Ireland, upon the pious old servant of the church of Rome.

If a thought of the field of Salisbury, where James deserted from his own army, certain of victory, and eager for the combat, and left his brave soldiers to weep away their shame and vexation; or if a recollection of the camp at Dundalk, where he refused to attack Schomberg's perishing army, crossed the mind of any one, the misgivings they were calculated to produce were swallowed up by the flattering hopes, that James was now about to retrieve his lost honour, and to lead his battalions into the thick-

est of the fight. Notwithstanding all William's great advantages, James's officers did not despair, "if the king were indeed to lead his soldiers, and cheer them in the combat by his presence and example."

William's obvious policy was to press an engagement. He was master of England; but very insecure upon the British throne. Assailed abroad by active and powerful enemies, his dominion in Britain rather added to his embarrassments, than furnished him with the means which he had expected of contending with his old antagonist, Lewis. The very party who had called him to England were jealous of him. They scanned every movement, and cavilled at every measure he attempted. His own manners were awkward and ungracious, and contrasted unfavourably with those of the late King Charles, to whom it might be said he had succeeded. Already the non-jurors had thrown a slur upon his title, which he had no power to wipe away. Discontent and cold indifference were in the heart of the kingdom. Most people looked with impatience and indignation upon the crowd of Dutch intruders whom William had brought with him; and many now thought that the part they had acted in promoting the Revolution was hardly defensible in principle, or expedient in the emergency that had occurred. The enthusiasm of the Revolution, which had existed but

for a moment, fell frozen to the earth the moment the silent and melancholy prince breathed the atmosphere of England.

In Scotland the jacobite spirit was also gathering strength. It had survived the death of Dundee, and descended upon multitudes too good and brave for such a cause. Perhaps the popular attachment to James in Scotland and England was nourished by his absence, as an eminent German philosopher and metaphysician banished himself from his mistress, that he might enjoy the full power of the passion of love, which the imperfection of its object might, in her presence, mitigate. It is certain that James's presence in Ireland speedily destroyed the enthusiasm that had been connected with his name. But the derision with which that name became at length associated never passed away. It has come down to our times sheathed in an apophthegm, and pointed with all the power and energy of the Irish language.

It was remarkable, that at the very moment James was expressing his fixed determination to fight, against the opinion and advice of his bravest officers, the true character of the man exhibited itself in anxious forebodings of the event, and precautions for his personal safety. He sent off his heavy baggage, and engaged a vessel at Waterford to convey him to France. It is impossible to say what could have been

James's motive in pressing an engagement. It seemed as if William's presence acted with the power of fascination upon him. When William landed in England, James seemed suddenly to lose the use of his faculties. He became bewildered and confused, and the crown fell from his head without an effort. He retained merely, and hardly, the power of flight. When again William appeared in Ireland, even this last power deserted the unhappy monarch, and he rushed to his fate at the Boyne with a confused and trembling precipitation, which no one could stay or could control.

William, on his side, though calm and resolute, was not free from anxiety. He was aware of the insecure ground on which he stood in England and Scotland; and he was far from despising the army that lay before him on the opposite bank of the Boyne. His chief confidence was in the wrong-headedness of James.

He made the most anxious enquiries as to the numbers, discipline, and condition of the Irish army; and when a deserter ignorantly magnified their strength, William was evidently much disturbed. He sent instantly for his secretary, Southwell, and communicated his apprehensions. Southwell had given a different account of the numbers of the Irish, and was himself disconcerted by the magnificent details of the deserter. In the emergency, Southwell consulted with

Cox, his own secretary, and from whom he had derived his information. Cox, whose natural sagacity had raised him from the rank of a village attorney in Munster to be Lord Southwell's secretary, and ultimately lord chancellor of Ireland, interrogated the deserter closely, and then put his accuracy to the test by leading him through the British camp, and asking him at what he rated William's army. The man confidently named nearly double their numbers, and William's fears were hushed.

The Irish army lay with their right resting upon Drogheda, a strong town in their possession; in front was the Boyne, with its steep banks, lined with close hedges, and cottages interspersed, which afforded favourable positions to the Irish light troops. On the left, the Boyne, turning almost at right angles, formed the defence of this flank. To the rear the Irish position was covered by high hills and the village of Donore: further back was the pass of Duleek. The whole position was a very strong one; and the Irish seem to have availed themselves of its natural advantages with much skill. They lined the hedges and cottages by the river side with light infantry, and upon some little hillocks, which ran along the water's edge, they erected some light batteries.

William reconnoitred the position with great attention. He saw that it had been well chosen,

and all its advantages turned to account. Notwithstanding the reports of deserters and others, he showed much anxiety to judge of the strength of the Irish with his own eyes. General Scravenmore, who accompanied him as he made his observations, counted the Irish battalions, and spoke of the whole number as a trifling army. But William was not so easily satisfied; his military *coup-d'œil* was too perfect to be deceived. He pointed to the hills upon the left of the Irish position, and observed, that many regiments might lie beyond them. And such was the fact. "But it is my business," said the prince, "to be speedily acquainted with their whole strength."

Saying this, the king left the height where he had been making his observations, and, accompanied by several of his officers, rode towards the river. When within musket-shot of the bank, near the ford and village of Old Bridge, William perceived that a small island in the Boyne was occupied by a party of the enemy's horse. Near the ford some field fortifications had been thrown up, which were again supported by several hedges and cottages, occupied by Irish infantry. It was here that the king determined to pass the river; and he spent some time conversing with his officers on the necessary arrangements for that purpose.

During this consultation, the king rode slowly along the river's bank in view of James's army, until he arrived nearly opposite the left of the Irish line. Here he alighted from his horse, and sat down on a rising ground to rest. His attention was now engaged by his own battalions, which were marching slowly, and with great order, into position. Danes, Dutch, French, Germans, Scotch, English, and a few Irish, composed this miscellaneous army. But they were veteran troops, and their discipline and appointments perfect, and their confidence in their general was unbounded.

While William was engaged considering this fine soldiery, so calmly and steadily preparing for the morrow's work, some officers of James's army were observed riding gently along the opposite bank of the river, and attentively engaged in viewing the British regiments as they wheeled into their lines. These were Sarsfield, Berwick, Tyrconnel, Lauzun, and some others.

Some of William's dragoons suddenly approached the river, and were fired on by the Irish; they returned the fire; and while the attention on both sides was engaged by this skirmish, a party of Irish cavalry moved slowly towards the river, until they reached a low hedge, where they halted, and wheeling about, moved again to the rear. William, after noticing those movements, rose from the ground to mount

his horse; but was hardly in the saddle, when a cannon-shot killed two horses and a man by his side, and threw the party into confusion; instantly another shot followed; grazed upon the bank of the river, and rising, slanted upon the king's right shoulder, tearing away his coat, and inflicting a slight flesh wound. The rumour ran through both armies that William was killed. It reached Dublin and Paris just in sufficient time to heighten the grief and disappointment that followed the battle of the Boyne.

William had been observed by the gunners of the Irish army, and they had sent down two field-pieces, concealed in the centre of the cavalry that had engaged William's attention. The guns had been placed behind the hedge when the horsemen withdrew, and had been aimed deliberately, and, it must be admitted, with some skill. A great military authority has since stated that when officers are to be singled out, this mode of attack rarely succeeds, but that a discharge of grape-shot from four or five guns would always make sure work.

The king was too much used to the butchery of the battle-field to regard the slight wound inflicted upon himself. He had it hastily bound up, and rode quietly through the camp, to show that there was no danger. In the evening he called a council of his officers to settle the order of battle for the following day. He did not

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consult them upon the expediency of fighting. His circumstances permitted no hesitation upon that point; nevertheless, Duke Schomberg, with the authority of age and character, ventured to remonstrate upon the risk of attacking the enemy in their present strong position. William heard him, but knew that he had no choice, and was decided: he reasoned as a king, Schomberg argued as a general, and, though they differed, they were both right.

Schomberg, failing in moving the king from his purpose as to battle, now urged the necessity of occupying the pass of Slane, upon the Boyne, considerably to the west of the enemy's line, and which, in the event of his defeat, would have made his ruin irretrievable. But William again differed from his general, and declined to occupy Slane. He is generally censured for having slighted Schomberg's advice upon this occasion, and it has sometimes been attributed to pique towards that general, and disapprobation of his conduct in the past campaign. But it is probable that the king acted upon better principle. From what he saw of the enemy and their position, he must have been convinced that he could not detach a man upon any service, however important, without risk. To dislodge the Irish and beat them would require his whole force, and unless they were so completely routed as to be thrown into utter confusion, they would

find no difficulty in forcing any detachment he might place at Slane; and probably William did not anticipate so complete an overthrow of the Irish army. The result showed that he was right in disregarding the pass of Slane.

Old Duke Schomberg was, however, piqued that his opinion should, in every instance, be overruled. He retired from the council to his tent, where the order of battle having been sent to him shortly after, he declared that it was the first during his long life that had ever been *sent* to him.

It was after twelve at night when William broke up from council, and, mounting his horse, rode through the camp, attended by soldiers carrying torches. He viewed the state and preparations of every regiment; saw that the soldiers were abundantly provided with food and refreshments for the morning, and that the ammunition was regularly served. He directed that the men should wear green branches in their caps, and gave the word for the day — Westminster. Having done this, he retired to rest.

The order of battle which had been determined upon was, that the right wing of the army, under Lieutenant General Douglas and Count Schomberg (son to the duke), should pass the river at Slane, and endeavour to turn the Irish left between Slane and Duleek. William's left wing was to penetrate between the Irish army and

Drogheda, while the centre was to force the passage of the river at the village of Old Bridge.

The same scene of debate and consultation was acted in James's quarters. The guns on both sides the river had ceased firing at an early hour in the evening, and perfect stillness prevailed in both camps. James and his officers remained longer in council than his son-in-law and his generals; and there was more difference of opinion. The pass of Slane was also in James's council a principal point of attention, and it is remarkable that both kings treated it alike. Hamilton advised that eight regiments should be sent to the pass to dispute the probable attempt of the enemy's right wing. James proposed to send *fifty dragoons*, and the astonished general only bowed his wonder.

As the hour of battle drew nigh, James's newborn heroism looked pale. He ordered some further movements to the rear, as if uncertain what he should ultimately resolve upon, and sent forward more of his baggage with a degree of hurry and precipitation not likely to inspire his army with confidence. It is probable that he would now have wholly declined the combat, if it it had been possible; but it was too late. The dawn was spreading over both armies, while he was yet in council with his officers, and nothing was determined upon. Finally James's feeble mind compounded with its fears and its

obstinacy, and a half-measure was resolved upon. The army were to retreat during the battle, and not commit themselves in a decisive engagement.

The Irish guards claimed the post of honour on the right and centre, and the brunt of the fight fell upon them. The French formed the left, and were to lead the retreat, and to these James committed the safety of his person. The whole army were ordered to wear white paper in their hats, in compliment to the French troops.

It is remarkable of the battle of the Boyne, that there can be little doubt, that if James could have kept his resolution to fight, imprudent as it appeared to have been, and had brought the French, who composed the left wing, into action, instead of leading them out of the field, the event of that celebrated combat would probably have been different. The conduct of the Irish troops in the battle far surpassed what their friends or enemies anticipated.

CHAP. VI.

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

THE morning of Tuesday the 1st of July, 1690, was calm and bright. About six o'clock William's right wing, under Douglas and Count Schomberg, marched towards Slane; it consisted of twenty-four squadrons of horse, and six battalions of infantry: on their march to the right they discovered several shallows of the river, and crossed without proceeding to the point of Slane. This movement was effected without any serious resistance, the Irish having upon this part of the river only some scattered skirmishers, who fell back as the British advanced. Douglas and Schomberg now put their divisions into order, and reconnoitred the enemy; they soon perceived the French battalions and great part of the Irish cavalry, forming the left wing of James's army, drawn up in two lines. The countenance and disposition of the enemy made them halt, and send for reinforcements; these speedily arriving, the generals changed the order of battle; they extended their line to their right, so as to outflank the Irish, supporting their

cavalry by alternate battalions of infantry; in this order they moved forward again.

The Irish light infantry continued to retreat before them, skirmishing as they fell back, and taking advantage of every position to impede and annoy the advancing enemy. This they were enabled to do with considerable effect, the ground being divided into small fields, fenced by high and substantial ditches, which afforded secure lying to the skirmishers, and exposed the British to a galling fire as they scrambled over them. At length the right wing having passed this difficult ground, arrived at a plain of considerable extent; but it was a bog or morass, which effectually covered the left of the Irish army, and showed that, relying upon the natural strength of their position, the Irish had no intention of bringing their left into action.

William was guilty of an error in ordering the movement he did, without knowing the nature of the ground upon the left of the Irish. He waited the time when he thought his right wing must have reached the enemy's left, and then ordered his centre to advance and cross the Boyne at Old Bridge. The Dutch guards, William's main strength, moved to the river-side with drums beating a march. Having arrived at the water's-edge, the drums ceased, and the soldiers plunged into the river; the stream rose as the men crowded in, and soon reached the

shoulders of the grenadiers; but they moved on with much regularity, preserving their arms from the wet by holding them over their heads.

On the opposite bank, the hedges which ran close to the brink of the river were lined with Irish infantry. In the rear of these hedges, in a hollow formed by some little hills, a solid body of foot were drawn up, consisting of seven regiments of Irish guards. These were supported by ten troops of horse guards, and by Tyrconnel's regiment of cavalry. This force was protected by their position from the fire of the English batteries, which passed over them. Here the brunt of the battle was expected to be fought.

The Dutch troops continued their way unmolested till they had reached the middle of the river, when a hot fire was opened upon them from the Irish bank; but the Dutch moved on without being shaken, and soon gained the bank; here they formed rapidly, the skirmishers retiring before them. Those fine troops had hardly formed their squares when the Irish horse advanced at full speed, and charged them with great impetuosity. They stood the charge unbroken; and for several hours they had to sustain repeated charges, gallantly made, and bravely withstood. The Dutch guards were then the best infantry in Europe.

William hastened to relieve his favourite

troops. Two French hugonot regiments, and one British were pushed across the river to their assistance. Further down the stream, Sir John Hanmers and Count Nassau's regiments were crossing also to support the Dutch guards. To meet these, General Hamilton advanced at the head of a body of Irish infantry to the water's edge, and encountered the advancing enemy even in the stream. "It seemed," says an eye-witness of the battle, "as if men and horses rose out of the earth by magic, so thick did the Irish battalions and squadrons come on, where a little before, nothing was visible but the grass and the brush wood." Hamilton, after a short conflict, fell back with his infantry before the French guards, and opening to the right and left, permitted the Irish horse to charge them. They advanced at full speed, passed through La Callimot's regiment, wheeled and charged them in flank, and scattered, and trampled them in the river. Callimot himself was killed, and a few of his regiment escaped to the opposite bank.

While this was passing, the Dutch guards, now reinforced, were advancing slowly, but in close order, and fighting their way every inch of ground; the Irish infantry having the advantage of the hedges and brush wood to annoy their enemy. As they advanced, and as the ground permitted it, they had to sustain almost incessant

charges from the bold cavalry, who seemed alone equal to contend with those fine troops to whom William owed his victory.

The action now became close and general. In the centre, where the hottest of the battle raged, the Dutch guards still maintained their ground unbroken, and William continued to make repeated efforts to relieve and support them. After the French were broken, he pushed forward the Danish horse; they crossed the river, but had no sooner gained the bank than they were charged by the Irish cavalry, broken and driven back into the water; they fled across the stream in disorder, and dispersed in all directions. The superiority of the Irish horse was now so decided, and the want of British cavalry became so apparent, that the stragglers of William's army, who were spectators of the combat, and the flying soldiers, set up a general cry of "Horse, horse!" The cry passed along the British line, now broken in many parts and in great disorder, and was mistaken for an order to halt.

This increased the confusion. The Irish cavalry had been every where victorious; they had broken and destroyed the Danish horse and the French infantry. The Dutch guards alone remained unbroken in the field.

The Danish horse, who had made their escape across the river, continued their flight when they had passed, and spread the report of Wil-

liam's defeat. Old Duke Schomberg exerted himself at this critical moment to restore the battle in the centre; he collected a few French cavalry and infantry of the fugitives, and was leading them across the river again, when he was met by some of the Irish horse returning from the pursuit of the Danes. The brave old Duke was cut down, and his party routed a second time; at the same moment, Walker, the clerical commander of Derry, received a mortal wound as he hastened to assist Duke Schomberg. This man was unnecessarily present at the Boyne: he seems to have become fond of military affairs and public exhibitions, and the judgment of those "who love danger" fell upon him. Though William disliked and discouraged him, he could not shake him off as a military appendage. Walker's exploits at Derry might have found an excuse in the peculiarity of his situation; but neither his exhibitions in London nor his presence at the Boyne can be justified.

While the main strength of William's army, all but the Dutch guards, were routed and put to flight in the centre, he was himself leading his left wing across the river; but he was greatly embarrassed and delayed by the difficulty of the ground, and was himself extricated with much trouble and exertion from the mire into which his horse had plunged. At length he made good the passage of the river, and hastened to put his

division in order. The left wing consisted of a large body of Danish, Dutch, and Enniskillen horse, and a considerable force of infantry. As soon as all were in order, William, though still suffering from the wound he had received the day before, drew his sword, and put himself at the head of his column.

The Irish right wing now moved forward to meet the British left, led by the king in person. This wing of the Irish army consisted chiefly of infantry. When within musket shot of the British line, perceiving the numerous cavalry of William's right wing preparing to take them in flank, they halted, faced about, and marched slowly to the little hill of Donore: having gained this point, they faced to the front again, and charged the British, who had followed them closely. The king was at the head of the cavalry of his left wing, which was the flower of his horse; and was now to try them against the Irish cavalry, which had arrived rapidly to the support of their right wing, while it fell back upon Donore. The king brought his horse bravely to the attack; their charge was met by that of the Irish cavalry, and they had no sooner come in contact, than the whole of this foreign cavalry went about and rode off the field. The Irish horse followed in pursuit, and the king stood alone upon the field of battle.

At this moment the Enniskilleners appeared coming up, and the king rode towards them, and asked what they would do for him? Woolsey told his men, it was the king, and asked if they would follow him? The men replied by a shout, and the king put himself at their head, and rode towards the Irish infantry; but the northerns did not venture to charge, and on receiving a well-directed volley, they went about, and left the king alone on the field as before.

The king did not quit the ground; he brought up his cavalry and infantry repeatedly, and though repeatedly driven back, he as often renewed the battle. But the infantry at Donore maintained their position with great steadiness, till their general, Hamilton, was wounded, and taken in a charge of cavalry: after this they fell back from Donore upon Duleek, but in good order; the enemy did not venture to molest them in their retreat.

There is not a more singular action upon record than this of the Boyne; the resolution of James's council of war was to fight only a kind of half battle. In the morning before break of day, part of the army, and most part of the artillery were in march for the pass of Slane, and actually on their retreat. The left wing, composed chiefly of French infantry, and which were supposed to be the best troops in the army, did not come at all into action. The centre and right, composed

entirely of Irish, most of whom had never before been in battle, were alone engaged.

All the accounts of the battle admit William's foreign corps, all but the Dutch guards, to have been repeatedly broken and put to route. His centre, cavalry and infantry, with the exception of the Dutch, had been driven across the river. His left wing, composed of his chosen cavalry, led by himself, was defeated and put to flight. No account (though we have several by eye-witnesses of the battle and all of William's army) states that any division of the Irish was broken, or suffered a decided defeat, until the infantry upon the hill of Donore were compelled to retreat, which they did in perfect order.

During the progress of the battle, and long before the retreat from Donore, the French left wing had moved off the field; so that towards the conclusion of the combat the Irish remained quite unsupported. Throughout the whole day the Irish cavalry maintained the decided superiority which they possessed from their first contact with the enemy; and when the whole army was at length in retreat, they closed up the rear, and effectually repressed any attempt at pursuit.

As there had been no decided defeat, no prisoners were made on either side. Hamilton, taken in the course of the action, alone seems to have remained in William's hands. The loss in killed is estimated at about five hundred on each

side in the course of the engagement. But a considerable number of wounded and stragglers of the Irish army, and peasantry, were killed by the British army (if it can be so called) to the number, as it is mentioned, of four or five hundred. On the Irish side, Lord Dungan and Lord Carlingford, and Sir Neal O'Neal were amongst the killed, and balanced the loss of Schomberg and Callimot to the British.

The annalists of that day account for the exploits of the Irish cavalry at the Boyne, by telling us that they had received each man half a pint of brandy on the morning of the battle, and were drunk. We can answer for it that half a pint of brandy would not make a modern Irish trooper drunk; and we should doubt very much whether a drunken cavalry could go through all the various evolutions of a battle day, make numerous and successful charges, and preserve a proud superiority in the field to the going down of the sun.

The brandy must soon evaporate. At all events it is a sorry kind of salvo for a defeat to say that our enemy was drunk. If he beat us when drunk, what would he not do if sober?

General Hamilton, when taken prisoner, was brought before William, who asked him "if the Irish would fight any more." Hamilton is reported to have answered, "Upon my honour, I think they will." "Honour!" said William; "your

honour!" alluding to the general's breach of faith with the prince. Hamilton might have argued the matter, perhaps, and made some plea for his honour, which was engaged to James, before William put him in prison, and then tempted him with a bribe. But William was a king and a general, and it is hard to maintain a successful argument with the rulers of mankind.

Before the first shot was fired on the morning of the battle, James's valour had entirely evaporated. Instead of leading his soldiers in this conflict, which was to decide the fate of his crown and his posterity, and which he himself had precipitated, he took a position at a safe distance from danger, and was but a spectator of the battle from the hill of Donore, surrounded by a few guards and attendants. The tradition in Ireland is, that he interfered several times by his messengers to prevent the Irish cavalry following up the pursuit of the enemy when broken; exclaiming frequently, "Oh spare my English subjects!" James, perhaps, was too confused to know that the troops which had been so frequently put to flight by the Irish horse were few of them English. It is hard to make the English turn their backs.

When, in the course of the day, the battle approached James's position on the hill of Donore, the warlike prince retired to a more secure distance at Duleek, where he soon put himself at

the head of his French allies and led the retreat, the king and the French coming off without a scar.

But James soon left his allies behind, and was the first fugitive in Dublin. He verified the fine description of the fearful man in holy writ, who flies "when no man pursueth." His flight was furious and disorderly. He arrived in Dublin with his horses blown, his baggage and servants scattered on the way, and exhibiting all the marks of consternation and despair. Mean time his army was whole and unbroken, and were marching from the field of battle with as much regularity as from a field of exercise; while the king and commander of this brave army was endeavouring to ruin their cause and his own, by spreading alarm and dismay through the country.

The first news that had been received in Dublin from the Boyne gave the victory to James. But those accounts came down no later than the charges of the Irish horse, which had been so successful. The flight of the Danish cavalry through the country had confirmed those reports from the field. The next accounts were brought by James himself. The manner of his entrance into the city would, to any one that did not know the king, have been full assurance of the total destruction of the Irish army. His little stock of courage was gone, and his small

understanding completely overwhelmed; not by any thing that had occurred, but by the excess and extravagance of his fears.

It was about nine at night when James reached Dublin. He was received at the castle by Lady Tyrconnel; and we are told that his terrors, whatever effect they might have on his understanding, had not spoiled his appetite. He supped as heartily as Falstaff would after a campaign. The next morning he sent for the lord mayor and several of the corporation, and made a speech to them, the purport of which was, "That in England he had an army which would fight, but deserted him," (which was not the fact, it was the king who deserted his army); "and that in Ireland he had an army which stood by him, but would not fight," which was also not fact, for his Irish army had fought a good battle at the Boyne, and James and his Frenchmen were the only portion of the army not engaged. James continued — "that he was now under the necessity *of taking care of himself;*" and he recommended to them "to do the same, and make the best terms they could with the enemy, and to do no mischief to the town."

Thus did this poor-spirited and unhappy prince desert his own cause, and even recruit for his enemy. He was now only anxious to make a dastardly escape to France. His re-

proaches against his English and Irish armies were but the poor expedients with which cowardice covers its flight.

James was already tired of war, and sick of the dangers and toils of battle. He had been delighted with his Irish sovereignty while it imposed no other occupations than the superintendance of monasteries and religious houses; the care and management of his brass bank; the imposition of taxes by the prerogative of the crown; and some attention to his profitable trade with France. But all these delights faded away when they could only be enjoyed in the vicinity of danger.

The king did not lose a moment after his speech to the corporation of Dublin. He set out immediately, and continued his flight to Waterford, with the rapidity of terror; and though he was master of the whole country, and the British army had not yet stirred from their position on the Boyne, he broke down the bridges as he passed; not reflecting that his fears, which were his only pursuers, held him already captive, and would not quit their hold for broken-down bridge or ruined causeway. He did not delay at Waterford, not even to make a speech to the corporation. The vessel his provident timidity had provided, was in the harbour and ready for sea. She soon set sail, and carried the scared monarch in safety to the coast of

France, and consigned him to his favourite pursuit of superstition.

James had no royal quality about him; except that he was a man of his word. Nature had made him a coward, a monk, and a gourmand; and, spite of the freaks of fortune that had placed him on a throne, and seemed inclined to keep him there, she vindicated her authority, and dropped him ultimately in the niche that suited him.

The battle of the Boyne, though in effect a kind of drawn battle, was, in all its consequences, a great victory for William. The conduct of James, after the battle, had turned it into a defeat for the Irish. Otherwise it had more than answered the objects which the Irish commanders proposed to themselves. They feared the military genius of the Dutch prince, and still more the steadiness and experience of his veteran battalions. The Irish army were new levies, badly armed, and worse provided with skilful officers, especially in that most material department of the service, the inferior commissioned and non-commissioned ranks. Their plan was, not to commit the army in a decisive combat, but to try them only with the enemy, for the purpose of training them to the war; and ultimately to protract the campaign until William should be forced to leave Ireland, and until his foreign army should be worn out by a winter's service

in an ungenial climate. Every day, they calculated, would improve their own army, and weaken and reduce William's.

The position at the Boyne enabled the Irish generals to try their plan of partial combat to what extent they pleased, without danger of being forced into a more extensive action than they might think expedient. With this view, the left wing, composed of the French, were refused, and did not come into action. But the Irish troops surpassed every expectation of their own officers, and filled William's generals with amazement; and it is likely that, if a large part of the Irish infantry and artillery had not been sent off early in the day, this partial experiment might have been turned into a decisive effort, and even James, against nature and the fates, might have won a victory.

William remained some days at the Boyne. He had suffered some loss; but had been more surprised and alarmed at the resistance he had encountered, which so little corresponded with what he had been led to expect, by all those with whom he had conversed, except Duke Schomberg, now no more. Those who had been most forward in giving him a mean idea of James's army were the Enniskilleners, who had themselves been so easily put to the route.

William, after this, despised and disliked those troops, and hanged them without ceremony

when taken in any of those maraudings to which they were so much addicted. If the king had marched from the Boyne with sufficient rapidity, he would probably have found an opportunity of making his victory more complete. He had seen the Irish march off the field in perfect order. He knew their strength was unbroken; but he did not know that James, in his disorderly flight through some of his own columns, had contrived to throw them into confusion; and that he had spread a panic through the country, which, though without cause, was not the less real, and might have afforded William many advantages.

The Irish had received James with great joy and enthusiasm. A British king had not been seen in Ireland since periods very remote, and then mostly as an enemy. James was an injured man, and had suffered partly for his attachment to Irish interests and the religion of the Irish people. He came with strong claims; and he threw himself, without reserve, upon the generosity and fidelity of the people of Ireland. His appeal was not made in vain; in a few weeks an army of nearly fifty thousand men had been raised; a large army, considering the resources and population of the country at that time, and raised almost without expence.

The people came in crowds from the south, and when James's arsenals afforded no arms, they

provided themselves with such as they could procure at their own cost. Never people answered better to the appeal of their prince. James had the love and enthusiasm of his subjects; but he knew not how to use this royal and invaluable treasure, more precious than gold or silver. He put its temper to many a severe test, and it stood them all; but finally he threw it away with the miserable levity of incapacity.

The fidelity of the Irish to their feeble king stood the test of William's arms, and the far severer ordeal of his offers and intrigues. William, though a cold man, was an artful intriguer, and the more able and artful, perhaps, because he was cold.

He had offered the Catholics, through Hamilton, the same terms which they afterwards accepted at Limerick: "The political privileges, and the private property enjoyed under Charles II., or at any time during his reign, to be secured to them." From the time of William's accession to the crown of England they never looked for more than this.

These terms were now offered again through several agents after the battle of the Boyne, and they were again rejected. The Irish were at length sensible that James was utterly unworthy of their attachment; but they could not yet resolve to cast him off for ever. There was no longer any zeal or enthusiasm in his cause; but

the hearts of the people turned slowly and reluctantly from him. Grief and astonishment at his conduct had seized upon the nation; they saddened at his unjust and unmanly reproaches, and his woeful and melancholy cowardice. Yet though they had not deserted him quite, they were rejoiced that he was gone. They saw that his presence in Ireland was most injurious to his own cause and theirs; and that the battle for his crown could only be fought with any hope of success in his absence.

Timidity and vacillation in so high a quarter would not fail to be seen, and to be contagious. His interference always did mischief, and he could not be restrained from interfering, for he was a meddler by nature. When it was known that James was gone, universal joy diffused itself among the army and the people. New hopes sprang up in the heart of the country, and the universal voice was for war. The army had shaken off any apprehension which might have been derived from the fame of William's foreign troops, and they longed for another opportunity of meeting this host of strangers in the field. Whatever of doubt remained on the mind of the troops or its generals, was connected with William himself; all shadow of apprehension was gone which his soldiers might have inspired. "Change generals," was the universal cry of the Irish; "change generals, and we will fight the battle

over again." The object now was to protract the war, and postpone a decisive engagement till William should be forced by the necessities of his government to return to England.

If, after the favourable terms which William now offered, the war was still continued, it was partly owing to the powerful influence of France; partly to the fear, which at that time prevailed in the country, that the terms would not be observed; partly to the terrors of the act of settlement, which hung over the newly-restored proprietors, and to the influence of a party (though not a considerable one), whose views could only be satisfied with the establishment of an independent government in their country. All these had their weight, and acted in union with the lingering attachment to James, which still struggled in the bosoms of the people, to prevent that accommodation which would at this period have been so desirable.

The Irish had now the advantage of James's absence. Their army was fully equal to cope with William's. They had the whole population on their side; a great force of irregular troops; and one of the most defensible countries in the world. They had all the great fortresses of the kingdom in their hands. On a rational calculation, there could be little doubt of their success in the war, so far at least as the

establishment of an independent government in Ireland.

That this was not accomplished was owing not to the want of means, for these were adequate and abundant, but to the levity of France, which preserved to her rival the integrity of that power which was so soon and so repeatedly to shake her empire to its foundations.

The Irish army at the Boyne, including the French auxiliaries and troops of all kinds, did not exceed from twenty-five to twenty-six thousand men; the army under William according to their own returns, exceeded thirty-three thousand.

CHAP. VII.

The day succeeding the battle, William encamped about a mile from the field of the Boyne, and detached a division of his army to invest Drogheda. This detachment was commanded by La Milliniere, a French officer, and consisted of about fifteen hundred men and eight pieces of cannon. When the Frenchman summoned Drogheda, the governor returned an answer of defiance. He was then furnished with a false and exaggerated account of the battle of the Boyne, and the subsequent movements of the Irish army; and La Milliniere added, that if the town was not surrendered without delay, he would put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword as soon as it should fall into his hands. The memory of Cromwell's barbarities was still fresh in the minds of the inhabitants, and they clamoured for a surrender. The governor capitulated, on condition of being permitted to withdraw with arms and baggage to Athlone. We cannot believe that William would imitate the brutality of Cromwell; but even to have

threatened it, is a reproach to the memory of that prince.

The Irish army proceeded slowly from the Boyne, directing its march to the south and west, agreeably to the plan of campaign which had been laid down. By this plan, they were to occupy the line of the Shannon along its western bank, supporting their position with the great fortresses of Athlone and Limerick. This has ever been a favourite position with the Irish, and there can hardly be a stronger. But it had the disadvantage of surrendering the most improved and cultivated portion of the country, and especially the capital. On the other hand the line of the Shannon gave the Irish all the chief harbours of the kingdom, and those too which lay most advantageously for receiving supplies and communications from France and Spain.

Orders were sent to withdraw the Irish garrison from Dublin. This was done with as much care and precaution for the safety of the city as was possible. The principal Protestant inhabitants were called together, and the custody of the city committed into their hands; and all prisoners for political offences against James's government were liberated. No one was injured, no property invaded; and every thing being provided for in the best manner that was possible under the circumstances, the garrison marched out of the city.

The garrison was no sooner withdrawn than a Protestant mob proceeded to attack the houses and plunder the property of the Catholic citizens. The more respectable inhabitants endeavoured to preserve order; but their efforts were unavailing; and for some days the city was a scene of the most frightful anarchy and confusion. General Sarsefield's house was plundered and destroyed; and in the madness of riot, the mob set fire to the suburbs, and threatened to burn the city.

Those of the citizens who had looked coolly upon the destruction of popish property were now thoroughly roused, when the danger seemed likely to approach themselves. They sent repeated and almost hourly expresses to William, entreating him to hasten his march to Dublin, and acquainting him with the alarming state of the town.

But William seemed to pay little attention to their representations. His movements after the battle of the Boyne were exceedingly slow. He seems for a time to have been uncertain and embarrassed as to the course he should adopt. He had just received dispatches from England, informing him of the discovery of extensive conspiracies and disaffection in that country and in Scotland; and that open hostilities were to be looked for, as soon as the French fleet, which was every day expected, appeared upon the

coast. A plan had been concerted between the English Jacobites and the French government, the outline of which was, that the French fleet, after defeating the British, (as was anticipated,) was to blockade William and his army in Ireland, while the conspirators in England and Scotland were to raise the standard of James in those countries, and excite the popular feeling in his cause, which now prevailed pretty extensively.

The plan was well arranged; and what appeared the most difficult part of it was speedily accomplished. William had scarcely rested from the fatigues of the Boyne, when he received news of the defeat of the combined fleets of England and Holland by the French off Beachy Head. It is remarkable that this battle was fought the day before that of the Boyne; and as at the Boyne, so also upon the ocean, the Dutch maintained the fight with a bravery never surpassed, and the English hardly did their duty. Though overpowered by superior force, the Dutch sustained the high character which their nation then enjoyed in Europe by land and water. This, no doubt, was some consolation to William, for he was a true Dutchman, and a true soldier.

The moral impulse of the Dutch revolution was not yet worn out. The spirit which their resistance to Spain had given birth to, was still nourished and sustained by their arduous struggle

against France, and gave the little republic of Holland that glorious eminence in arts, industry, and arms which she then enjoyed.

But the spirit of England, subdued by the failure of her revolution under Cromwell, degraded by the restoration of the Stuarts, and polluted by the flood of political and moral profligacy which followed the footsteps of those weak princes, was now again bowed down under the weight and disgrace of the Dutch yoke, which she had imposed upon herself. England was *cowed.* She felt that Holland was the true seat of empire, and that she acted but a second part to the little republic of the fens, and was no longer any thing but an appendage to the *States.* This idea weighed upon the heart of the country; it ran like icy coldness through her fleets and armies; and they became spiritless and benumbed. The same cause which had for ages unstrung the nerves and sinews of the Irish military in their own country, and offered them up, bound and enfeebled, to every invader, was now acting with great power upon the British themselves.

The incessant squabbles and ill-humour of the parliament with William, were not because that prince exceeded the limits of legitimate authority. It was nothing more than a peevish and fretful effort of the nation to vindicate its su-

premacy; a constant struggle against the notion of Dutch superiority, which yet they could not shake off.

The Dutch possessed some of the most valuable materials of greatness; a calm, cold, obstinate energy. Wisdom and courage were theirs in a high degree. And they would, perhaps, have become the greatest European power, if England had not been in their vicinity, and had not only possessed the grand elements of character which the Dutch enjoyed, but possessed them in combination with other and brighter, though less precious, qualities.

The Dutch were passionless; and such a people have never been great for a long period. They were also too commercial. Commerce is a great support and ornament to empire, but if it be made the main pillar of the state, it will be found a dangerous one, and liable to decay. The English had the courage and the calmness of the Dutch; but they had more: they had warmth, and genius, and fancy; qualities which are not the ornament only, but the vital principle of power. It is a great advantage in the triple empire of the British islands, that her people afford a variety of character, which supplies almost all that is desirable in human mind; steadiness and thoughtfulness; energy and industry; vivacity, and fancy.

The English almost lost regret for the defeat of their fleet, in their satisfaction for the embarrassment it occasioned to William. The prince had not found the throne of England to be a place of repose. If there were any thing questionable in his mode of acquiring the crown, that splendid penalty did judgment upon the head that wore it. The king soon discovered that his father-in-law's crown was lined with thorns.

After a long pause, William at length made up his mind to the prosecution of the war in Ireland. He moved slowly towards Dublin, sending forward Scravenmore and the Duke of Ormond with some cavalry and the Dutch guards, while he himself, with the main body of his army, followed leisurely, and encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of the city.

The Dutch, under Scravenmore, took possession of the castle and strong places about the city; while Ormond, with the British horse, were posted at the outguards of the town. On his march to Dublin, William had nearly fallen in with a division of James's Munster troops, hastening, by forced marches, to reinforce the army on the Boyne, and still ignorant of the occurrences there. The videttes of this detachment were taken; and, according to the old custom of the Anglo-Irish (when victorious), the soldiers were hanged. William was every

day gradually adopting the Anglo-Irish system of barbarous warfare. In a short time it was thoroughly established in his army. The Irish regiments fell back and marched to Athlone.

We are told by one of William's officers that the city of Dublin, at this time, "was inferior to none in England, except London; most of the houses and streets," says our informant, "are very regular and modern, and the people as fashionable as any where."

The college, which, during James's rule, had been forced to adopt the faith of its predecessor on the same site, the ancient monastery of All-hallowes, (erected into a university by Pope John the Twenty-second, under the learned friar, William Hardite,) now again changed its theology, and resumed the doctrines of the reformation.

On the 5th of July, the king attended divine service at St. Patrick's cathedral, to return thanks for the success of his arms. He afterwards received the Bishops of Meath, Limerick, and others of the established clergy then in Dublin. The Bishop of Meath assured his majesty, "that they came not to beg his protection, for he had given sufficient demonstrations of his affection towards them by venturing his royal person for their deliverance; but they came to congratulate his arrival, to pray for the continuance of his good success, and to give his majesty

all the assurance possible of their loyalty and obedience; intreating his majesty not to think worse of them for staying in Ireland, and submitting to a power that it was impossible for them to resist, since they had been as serviceable to the church's interest and his majesty's by staying, as they could have been otherwise."

The king replied to this address with his usual brevity, "that he had, by the blessing of God, succeeded so far; and he doubted not, by God's assistance, to free them absolutely, and in a small time, from popish tyranny, which was his design in coming."

The Bishop of Meath had acted a bold and manly part: he had attended all James's parliaments, and had vigorously and perseveringly opposed his measures. Though William avoids noticing the point, it was undoubtedly much to the bishop's credit, when so many deserted their posts in Ireland, that he remained steadily at his; and it was honourable to James, that the bishop's strenuous opposition was neither resented nor repressed. There is no mention in the address, or in the answer, of a great *victory* at the Boyne. William limits his claim modestly to *success*.

On the seventh of July William published a declaration and address "to the poor-labourers, common soldiers, citizens, tradesmen, townsmen, and artificers of the kingdom of Ireland." He offers them his royal countenance and protection

on their submission to his authority. He recommends the tenantry to pay their rents to the Protestant proprietors who were attached to his cause, and to pay no rent to the Popish proprietors who were opposed to him. This address is dated from Finglas.

Those recommendations with respect to rents, show that William was entirely ignorant of the nature of Irish tenancies. Numbers of poor people, however, of the descriptions enumerated in his address, came in and submitted to the new government. They obtained the king's written *protections*. But they found these papers worse than useless. They hardly left William's camp, when they were followed and plundered by his soldiers. Their protections only exposed them with more certainty to every species of outrage and injury; for those who had not come in were on their guard.

William found himself totally powerless to make his "declaration" be observed. The want of faith towards the people, and the cruelties perpetrated upon them, drove the peaceable peasantry to arms, and converted the whole population of the country into roving bands of irregular militia, which were a powerful weapon against the British in the further prosecution of the war.

It soon became a war, not against James's army only, but, as in Cromwell's time, against

the whole Irish nation. Notwithstanding William's occasional efforts, his soldiers shot or hanged every man of every description they met with. But we do not find that this soldiery are chargeable, like Cromwell's, with the massacre of women and children, and but rarely with attempts to put the population to death by famine.

Some enormities of which they were guilty, they learned from the teaching and example of the Enniskilleners and Derrymen, whose appetite for plunder and violence had become the admiration of William's oldest and most hardened soldiers. So keen, indeed, was this appetite, that they did not spare the king's officers; and some of them were hanged from time to time for robberies committed on the Dutch or Danish soldiers.

The Enniskilleners had become savages in the course of the war, and the more savage for the tincture of religion or fanatacism, or whatever it was of that nature, upon which they prided themselves. The Protestantism of Ireland has often been described as a virulent hatred of Popery, and an absence of all religion. But this could not have been the Protestantism of the Enniskilleners. Their conduct was too wicked to have been the result of a mere absence of religion; it was bad enough to be the fruit of a depraved and mistaken creed, for they were surely not Protestants.

William's foreign soldiers, except the Dutch, were the sweepings of Europe, and spotted with the foulest vices that could be raked from the pollutions of her great cities. The king sometimes hanged them when caught in the perpetration of any enormity; but this had little effect upon so desperate a gang. They passed through the country like a rolling flood of fire, and houses, villages, corn-fields, and population, all disappeared upon their line of march.

Every writer who has treated of the affairs of this period; the sturdiest Protestant, and the staunchest Williamite, has admitted and deplored the extraordinary depravity of this army. They confess that a flood of wickedness had been poured out upon the country by their "deliverers," of the most awful and appalling character; "that no faith or promise was observed; that murder, robbery, and debauchery spread themselves over the country, and consumed and corrupted every thing."

An army, whose business is idleness and slaughter, must, from the very nature of its avocations, become depraved. Discipline coerces this natural tendency; but in actual warfare discipline becomes relaxed, and there is but one other security against the moral degradation to which military bodies are devoted, and which saves them from becoming a pestilence and an

infection. This security is patriotism. The love of country, where it is the principle of the war, elevates the soldier from a brigand into a hero.

William's army, all but his Dutch troops and a few English, were mere mercenaries and brigands. But they were brave men and veteran soldiers. In long wars the old soldier often forgets the first principle that warmed his bosom, and settles down into the sedate and iron-hearted villain, laughing at duty, mocking at humanity and justice, and acknowledging no law but force.

The honourable contrast which James's army exhibited to that of William, was owing, no doubt, to its nationality. The Irish army was national; it was an army of the people, contending for their homes, their country, and their religion. If they were mistaken in the view they took of their interests and their duties, it did not affect the principle upon which they acted. "The enemy," says Dr. George, speaking of the Irish, "fights with the principle of a mistaken conscience against us; we against the conviction of our conscience against them. Can we expect," he adds, "that Sodom will destroy Babylon, or that debauchery will root out popery?"

The allusion here made to Sodom refers to a pollution with which William's foreign army was

universally affected, both officers and men; and of which at this day there are horrible traditions amongst the peasantry in various parts of Ireland, and especially in the county of Limerick, derived from the long sojourn of the army there during the periods of the two sieges.

The Irish officers and soldiers were connected not merely with the cause, but with each other, by the bonds of clanship and chiefry which were an additional security for obedience. The war was waged among their own people, whom it was their business and duty to protect, not to pillage. William's soldiers had neither connection with the cause or the country, and they were accordingly indiscriminate and impartial in their excesses and depredations. They spared the Protestant as little as the Catholic.

The Irish army had marched towards the Shannon; and were concentrated, part in the neighbourhood of Athlone, and part at Limerick. The king lost no time in making arrangements for the same route. He divided his army into two great divisions; one under his own command, which was to take the road to Limerick and which composed the main body of his force; the other division, consisting of five regiments of cavalry and twelve of infantry, was despached under the command of Lieutenant General Douglas towards Athlone for the purpose of investing that fortress. Thus striking, at the

same instant, at the two places which formed the main strength of the Irish.

The column under Douglas took their route from Dublin, through Chapel-Izod, Maynooth, Glencurry, and Mullingar. They encamped at the latter town on the 15th of July. Their march from Dublin had been a scene of plunder and devastation, and occasionally murder, of the unarmed peasantry. About five hundred of the peasants and other inhabitants of Mullingar and the vicinity, came to the camp to beg protections from the general, which were immediately granted. All these people were waylaid by the soldiers on their return home and plundered. In the same manner, provisions coming to the camp were stopped on the way by the soldiers, and the country people robbed and abused.

As this practice soon stopped the supply, the soldiers were compelled to extend their operations. They went to the markets and fairs, and took every thing away they could lay their hands on. The effect of these outrages was not felt till the army sat down before Athlone.

On arriving before Athlone, General Douglas sent a drum to summon the town. For reply, old Colonel Grace, who commanded, fired a pistol towards the messenger, and desired him to say, "that was his answer." This was not merely an angry defiance on the part of the brave old officer; it was an expression of his

abhorrence and contempt of the barbarous enemy that had disgraced themselves by such outrages.

Colonel Grace was the descendant of a noble English family of Norman stock. Raymond le Gross was the original founder of the family in Ireland, and for some centuries they had been distinguished for talent, for power, and splendid possessions. But this ancient family had long been declining, and the veteran colonel inherited little more than the spirit of his ancestors.

The fortress of Athlone was the centre of a district anciently called "O'Kelly's Country." It stood upon a piece of land divided in the centre by the Shannon, and surrounded on all sides by a morass or bog, which formed a strong natural defence. The two portions into which the town was divided by the river, were called the Irish, and the English towns; distinctions which obtained formerly in almost all the cities and towns of Ireland, and which are to be met with still in some of the more inconsiderable ones. The Irish village was generally the original upon which the English settlement was grafted. The Irish town formed in most cases a miserable contrast with the English, exhibiting only dirt and poverty in contrast with neatness and comfort.

Anciently none but the poorest and most miserable of the Irish lived in villages. They were a rural or pastoral people, and none but the outcasts of society herded in hamlets. The

English, on the contrary, were a gregarious and handicraft people; their pursuits and dispositions led them to dwell in towns; here their wealth was centered and their improvements made. The feuds also between the British and Irish compelled the former for a long period to confine themselves within the towns, where only they were safe; and their superiority there increased in the wealthier Irish their natural dislike of town-living. Hence the wretchedness of the *Irish towns* and the superior neatness of the English.

The English and Irish towns were connected at Athlone by a strong stone bridge, built by Sir Henry Sidney in the reign of Elizabeth. Colonel Grace, to make his defences more perfect, burnt the English town which stood upon the east bank of the river, and broke down part of the bridge. The works on the Irish town side were very strong, and were strengthened by a castle that commanded the passes of the Shannon. To these the governor added several new batteries and redoubts. The garrison consisted of three regiments of foot and nine troops of dragoons.

Douglas, after a few days spent in completing his batteries, commenced firing on the castle. The governor answered his shot by hoisting a bloody flag, and returning his fire with great spirit. After much firing the British general

found that he made no impression upon the castle, while the fire from the town killed his best gunner and his captain of artillery, and did much damage to his batteries. The Irish guns were better served and directed.

Douglas now made an effort to pass the river some miles above the town to the north, and sent a strong detachment of horse and mounted grenadiers to Lanesborough. But they found the pass occupied by an Irish detachment; they were beaten back, and forced to return to camp. It was next proposed to pass the river at a ford a short distance from the bridge, and drive the Irish from the field works which covered this pass. But after debating the proposition, it was ascertained that the works were strong and the ford dangerous, and that there were few disposed to lead the way in so hazardous an enterprise. It was given up in despair. To add to the embarrassment of the besiegers, news was brought that Sarsefield was marching at the head of fifteen thousand men to cut off their retreat from Athlone.

It does not appear that there was any foundation for this report. It was invented probably to serve as an excuse for abandoning the siege; or set afloat by the inhabitants of the country to get rid of their unwelcome visitors. The Protestant inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood had, previous to the arrival of Douglas,

lived in quiet and security upon the faith of Irish protections with which they had been furnished by Grace the governor. Immediately on the appearance of the British force they had renounced the benefit of those protections, and joined the besiegers, in full confidence that the town would be speedily taken. They were furnished with British protections in place of their Irish ones.

The condition of these poor people during the siege and afterwards was very deplorable. Their British protections proved to be mere waste paper. During the continuance of the siege they were plundered without mercy by their new friends; and when the siege was raised, they were forced to accompany this Protestant banditti, to which they were a prey, and from whom they could not now escape, having renounced all claim to their Irish protection, and given the enemy during the siege all the information and assistance in their power towards the capture of the place.

Douglas now raised the siege, and commenced his retreat with a precipitation that soon became a flight. In his terror of being cut off he abandoned all his heavy baggage; and lest he should fall in with Sarsfield, he quitted the high road, and struggled to make his way through broken and unfrequented routes, which added to the

length and hardships of the march. Thus terminated the first siege of Athlone.

Meantime the king had been hastening his arrangements in Dublin previous to his march towards Limerick. He suppressed King James's copper money by proclamation; but it does not appear that he considered himself bound, by his succeeding to the government, to discharge the debts incurred by James's administration.

James had promised to pay his copper tokens when presented at his Exchequer. But instead of doing so, he merely gave the bearer an acknowledgment, in the nature of a debenture, for the sum paid in. This debenture was signed by his Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was to bear interest; and several of them are still in existence.

Great efforts had been made since William's arrival in Ireland to revive the old game of forfeitures, and to inoculate the king with a taste for this stimulating enjoyment; and not, it appears, without some success. The phlegm of the Dutch prince was as little proof against the sweet seduction as Cromwell's piety or fanaticism had been. And, like this bold adventurer, he was compelled to give liberally to his dependents, in order to entitle himself to a large share.

William was induced to issue a "commission of forfeited lands, and other forfeitures." The commissioners were the Bishop of Meath, Lord

Longford, Doctor Gorge, Captain Fitzgerald, Mr. Coughland, Doctor Davis, and Captain Corker. Never was commission more active. They proceeded instantly to work, without parliamentary authority or legal process. "They seized," says Leland, "without mercy;" "they harassed the country yet made inconsiderable returns into the Exchequer."

The fact was, that the commissioners of forfeited lands and goods had no intention whatever of supplying the Exchequer. They swept away every thing they could lay hands on, and which there was the least shadow of reason for imagining to be the property of a Papist or an adherent of James. In this career of spoliation their great competitor was William's army. The commissioners complained bitterly that the soldiers were before hand with them wherever there was any profitable spoil; and the army retorted, that the commissioners had a scent for plunder, and an activity in the pursuit of it, that surpassed their most experienced marauders.

However the matter might have really stood between the parties, the commissioners had the best of it when it came to a statement of account. In the few accounts they condescended to furnish, they charged themselves with very little, but made out a heavy bill against William's foreign army, of various plunder, which, they contended, ought to have gone to the credit

of the commission. The Bishop of Meath, who appears to have been an honest as well as a bold man, had the grace to withdraw himself very speedily from the commission. The other gentlemen proceeded in their course; and the king who expected to be a sharer in the profits, finding that he reaped nothing but disgrace, and that there was a general outcry raised against the shameful proceedings of the court, made some efforts to get rid of it. But it could not now be done; and he was compelled to submit, though with much vexation, to the reproach and the unprofitableness of their proceedings. He, however, contrived afterwards to get some valuable lands to his own share.

The king now commenced his march; proceeding southwards through Carlow, Kilkenny, and Waterford. The Irish every where falling back before him, and surrendering those places without much resistance, agreeably to their plan of concentrating their main force behind the Shannon. The king, whose great object was despatch, granted every where the most favourable terms to the garrisons; permitting them to to march out with the honours of war, arms, baggage, &c. and join their main army on the Shannon.

At Waterford, William's impatience of the Irish war increased; and he began to speak openly of returning to England. At length he

called a council of his officers, and communicated his intention of proceeding to London; and stated the pressing reasons which made this resolution indispensable.

On the twenty-seventh of July, His Majesty left his army at Waterford, in charge of Count Solmes, as commander-in-chief, and set out for Dublin on his return to England. This movement of the king's created great despondency in the army, and amongst his adherents throughout the country.

It was looked upon as a confirmation of the various rumours that were afloat concerning the ill condition of the king's affairs abroad, as well as in Great Britain. At Carlow, however, on his way to Dublin, William was met by a courier, with an express containing favourable advices from England. He hesitated now whether he should continue his journey or return to the army. At length he decided upon proceeding towards Dublin, and postponing his final resolution till his arrival there.

The king stopped at Chapel-Izod, in the neighbourhood of the city, where he was employed several days in hearing petitions on various grievances and abuses, of which the people complained loudly. Some of these referred to the flagrant violation of the king's *protections*, which had become a source of great suffering and disorder. Many related to the enormous outrages,

committed by Douglas's army in its retreat from Athlone; others complained of the devastations committed by the king's commissioners of forfeited goods and lands, which seemed to be the most crying abuse of any; the commissioners frequently mistaking Protestant property for Popish, when the former happened to be convenient to their grasp. There were also bitter complaints made to His Majesty by his Protestant subjects, to nearly the same effect, against the garrison of Dublin, and especially Trelawny's, Schomberg's, and some other regiments of horse. The people complained that those soldiers paid no respect to their Protestantism, and treated them much worse than James's Popish soldiers had done. On inquiry, William found that it was a fact, that the dragoons were not nice in selecting Papists when they had a fancy to rob, or amuse themselves with other military pastimes; and despairing of being able to impress them with the necessity of making accurate distinctions, he ordered those indiscreet regiments to England.

While at Chapel-Izod, William published another "Declaration," offering passes and protections to all foreigners in arms against him, who may be desirous of returning to their own countries. A second "Declaration" commanded all *Papists* to deliver up their arms, and submit, on pain of being abandoned, "to the discretion

of the soldiers;" — the most awful denunciation, as William well knew, which he could fulminate against such of his subjects as were unlucky enough to mistake their king and their religion.

Having thus threatened the curse of his debauched army against his people, the king's next manifesto was a proclamation for a general fast to be observed every Friday during the war in all parts of the kingdom under His Majesty's obedience; on which days all good Protestants were ordered to ask God's pardon for their sins, and implore a blessing (which they greatly wanted) upon His Majesty's forces.

Public opinion was much divided respecting the latter proclamation. Many excellent Protestants thought that His Majesty was unfortunate in the selection of a day for those religious exercises, Friday, as a fast-day, savouring strongly of popery; and it was afterwards imputed to the unhappy taint affecting Friday fasts or prayers, that the army, notwithstanding this proclamation, were nothing improved in their morals, and that they met shortly after so signal a failure at Limerick.

The king, while engaged in those regulations at Chapel-Izod, was anxiously expecting despatches from England, which were to decide whether he should return to the army and continue the war in person, or quit Ireland and hasten to the defence of his British dominions.

At length, the expected despatches arrived, with the good tidings, that the defeat of the British fleet had not led to the results which were apprehended: the French neglected to turn their victory to any account. Some of the conspirators in England had been apprehended, and the rest were discouraged by the inactivity of France. Upon the whole, public confidence had been somewhat restored, and things looked safer and better in Great Britain than had been lately anticipated.

CHAP. VIII.

THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK.

RE-ASSURED by this intelligence, William's resolution was instantly taken to return to his army, and continue the war in Ireland. He disencumbered himself of all his heavy baggage, and unnecessary attendants, and, travelling with great rapidity, rejoined his army on the 2d of August, at Golden Bridge.

He had heard, before leaving Dublin, the account of Douglas's disastrous failure at Athlone. The news added greatly to the gloom and despondency which the defeat of the British fleet, and the rumours of conspiracies in England and Scotland, and the king's intended departure, had spread over the protestant portion of Ireland; and probably the defeat at Athlone had its influence in deciding William not to quit Ireland at that time, or until he had restored the confidence of his friends by some successful operation of importance.

From his position at Golden Bridge, William now moved forward with his whole army towards Limerick. On his march he was joined by the

division under Douglas, which had at length made their way to the royal army, after a circuitous and harassing march. If they did not bring honour with them, they brought spoil. They had driven before them all the cattle of the country as they marched, and now joined William's main force with several hundred head of black cattle and horses.

William had heard much of dissensions, said to prevail in the garrison of Limerick, between the French and Irish troops; and he had hastened his march with a view to improve those disputes, if possible, into a surrender. He recollected, probably, that it was by such means that Cromwell's general, Ireton, obtained possession of this celebrated fortress, when all the efforts of his skill and valour had been unsuccessful. Ireton had availed himself of the quarrels between the confederates so skilfully, that he obtained possession of the town, without a blow, and hanged a few of both parties to prove his gratitude for so easy a conquest.

William was not so fortunate. Though but little inferior to Cromwell as an intriguer, and well disposed on this occasion to exert all his talent in that great branch of politics, and though it was true, that serious and even violent dissensions did prevail in the town, between the French and Irish parties, yet the accounts he had received, of a disposition to surrender, were with-

out foundation. There was no such disposition in either party; and William's efforts to improve the jealousies that prevailed into treachery or capitulation failed entirely of success; and not only failed, but returned upon himself, and contributed to his own defeat and discomfiture.

Limerick was at this time the most considerable city in Ireland, next to Dublin. The country for a great extent along the banks of the Shannon was much wooded, though not forest; but in the immediate vicinity of the town the land was well cultivated and thickly peopled. Population had every where taken refuge under the guns of the fortified towns, as the only security in the long wars which had so frequently swept the open country of its inhabitants. On William's approach, he found the city encompassed outside the walls, to a considerable extent, with thick enclosures, houses, orchards, gardens, and plantations. The land was every where divided into small fields, enclosed by strong hedges, and intersected by green lanes. A number of ancient, now ruinous forts and castles, were scattered among those modern improvements.

To the north of the town, the Shannon divides its stream, throwing out a large arm, which encircles the city and insulates the piece of land on which it stands. The town situate upon this island was called the English-town, and was con-

nected by two bridges; upon one side, with the county of Clare, upon the other with the Irish-town, or second portion of the city. The first, which was called Thomond Bridge, and which crossed the main stream of the Shannon, by sixteen arches, to the Thomond or Clare side of the river, was defended upon the latter side by a strong fort, and some field works, and on the city side by a drawbridge, flanked with towers and the city walls. The great length and narrowness of the bridge made it easily defensible. This bridge, which is of hewn stone, is supposed to have been built in the reign of King John, by one of the O'Brien family, then king of Limerick and Thomond: it was at least known to be in existence at that period.

The second bridge, which crossed the arm of the Shannon, and connected the two divisions of the city, that on the island and that on the county of Limerick side, was of ordinary dimensions, and lay within the circuit of the walls.

The town upon the island was by nature almost impregnable. It was built upon a rock of considerable extent; and the land upon every side of it was low and marshy, and could at any time be flooded so as to make the approach of an enemy almost impossible. The great breadth and rapidity of the main stream of the Shannon presented an insuperable impediment upon one side, and upon every other the arm with which

the river embraced the town was of a depth which it was impossible to ford.

The Irish-town which lay upon the main land of the county of Limerick was but of ordinary strength, and defended only by its walls. If captured, however, the English-town might still be maintained.

William made his approaches to the city slowly, having to level the numerous enclosures of the adjoining grounds as he moved on. These he found occupied by the light infantry of the Irish army, who lined the hedges, and kept up a troublesome fire upon his advanced parties, under cover of those natural defences. A few light cavalry supported the skirmishers of the Irish army, but the whole retired gradually as the British advanced; and they encountered no serious opposition, till the Irish parties having at length fallen back under cover of their guns, the city opened its fire upon the advancing enemy, and compelled them to halt.

Here, as at the Boyne, the king had a very narrow escape. A cannon-ball from the walls struck the ground at his foot, as he was passing through a gap made in a hedge; the ball would have passed through his body, if he had not stumbled and fallen as he clambered through the gap. William took no notice, but recovered his footing, and moved on quietly; possessed, perhaps, with the military creed, that "every

bullet has its billet;" or with the Christian confidence, as true a source of courage, that his life was in the hand of God.

William, when he came in view of the town, sent a trumpet with a summons of surrender to the French general, Boileau, who commanded the garrison. The terms of this summons probably betrayed the hopes which the king entertained of an easy surrender. Boileau addressed his answer to William's secretary, Sir Robert Southwell, not being at liberty to acknowledge the prince as king, and too polite to hurt his feelings by a denial of the royal title. He expressed great surprise at the summons he had received, and declared his resolution to merit the good opinion of the Prince of Orange, by a vigorous defence of the fortress committed to his care, by His Majesty James the Second.

This answer did not cure William of the erroneous notion he had conceived, that the citizens and the garrison were desirous to capitulate; and that they were induced to defend the town only by the strong persuasions of Sarsefield and the Duke of Berwick. The subsequent events of the siege revealed to him his error. The city was not only bravely defended by the garrison, but the inhabitants of all classes, and even the women, took part in the defence.

While William was preparing for the siege, the main force of the Irish, now posted along the

west bank of the Shannon, had been gathering strength every day by the falling in of the numerous garrisons which had capitulated upon William's line of march. These troops lay between Limerick, Galway, and Athlone, the French under the command of Lauzun, and the Irish under Tyrconnel. The stout defence made by the city, and the length of the siege, afforded this army abundant opportunity of undertaking some decisive operation upon William's rear. But nothing was undertaken, in consequence of the misunderstandings which prevailed between the French and Irish troops and their commanders. Nor does it appear that it was very clearly settled at this time who was to command in chief. James had fled with too much precipitation to settle the point; and the French generals were not inclined to admit the authority of the Lord-lieutenant, Tyrconnel.

The king took his place on the right of his encampment, having near him the horse guards, and the blue Dutch guards, which were always his main reliance. To the left of these were some English and Dutch regiments intermixed; farther on the French and Danes were stationed, and the Brandenburgers and other German regiments formed the extreme of his line, composing altogether as curious an assemblage of tongues, and nations, and people, as ever beleaguered a city since the siege of Troy.

The post assigned to the Danes was upon one of those rude circular redoubts which are called in Ireland Danish forts, and were very probably constructed by those people in the progress of their struggles. The Danish troops, we are told, were not a little pleased at meeting with this memorial of the ancient invasions of their ancestors, though they had now fallen from the high rank they formerly enjoyed of preying upon foreign nations for their own profit and advantage, and were reduced to be but invaders upon a Dutch account.

General Ginckle had been despatched at the head of a large force of cavalry to reconnoitre beyond the river. He had discovered a ford of the Shannon, some miles above the town, and had crossed the river, but had not ventured to penetrate far from its bank.

The king had sat down before the town before his heavy artillery had come up. These, together with a considerable quantity of powder, stores, and pontoons, were on their way from Dublin, accompanied only by a slight escort of two troops of dragoons. He had relied, apparently, so much upon his information respecting a surrender of the town, that he had neglected proper preparations for the siege. He now found that the city must be contended for; and that the success of his intrigues within the walls would very much depend upon the success

of his operations without. This new view of the case made him as impatient for the arrival of his heavy battering train, as he had before been to make a mere demonstration outside the walls.

At this period a French gunner deserted to the town, and gave intelligence of the positions occupied by the various corps of the army, and of the king's quarters, and those of the different general officers. The intelligence brought by the deserter was of the utmost importance. The guns from the town were now pointed with precision and effect. The king was compelled to change his quarters, so hot a fire was poured upon his tent, and various other changes were found necessary to be made in the disposition of the army. But the attention of the Irish commanders was chiefly engaged by the intelligence respecting the train on its way from Dublin. Sarsefield instantly resolved to intercept it, and thus probably put an end to the siege.

On the night of the 10th of August this enterprising officer crossed the Shannon, by Thomond Bridge, at the head of some of his best cavalry; and turning to the right, traversed rapidly the road that runs northwards along the line of the river, till he reached Killaloe, about twelve miles from Limerick. Crossing the river at this ancient village, he got into the rear of the British army, and, concealing his men in the mountains, waited the approach of the convoy.

While Sarsefield was thus making his dispositions, a gentleman of the county of Clare learned that the General had passed near his residence, at the head of a chosen body of horse, and he immediately concluded, that some movement of importance was in agitation, which required to be committed to so eminent a commander in person. This man was one of the O'Brien family. It occurred to him that he had acquired information which might be turned to some account, and would enable him to pay his court with advantage to King William.

Full of the importance of his information, and its probable influence upon his fortune, Manus O'Brien set out for the British camp. Here he had the mortification to be received with the utmost coldness; no one knew Manus O'Brien, nor would any one listen to him, or procure him access to any officer of rank. At length, however, he did succeed in introducing himself to some of the superior officers. But he encountered another difficulty: O'Brien wished to talk of the war, of General Sarsefield, of the detachment that had passed through the county of Clare, of the siege, and other important matters of "flood and field." But whenever he attempted this strain, he was interrupted. William's officers would talk of nothing but what they thought Manus O'Brien understood, and what they wished themselves to be informed of.

They answered his observations upon the war, and his story of Sarsefield's expedition, with inquiries about pigs, poultry, fat cattle, and other productions of the county of Clare, concerning which they discovered great interest and curiosity. Poor O'Brien felt the indignity: he was mortified to think that he should be considered fit only to talk to of corn and cattle, while he was fraught with intelligence that imported the safety of the British empire.

After a long delay, the evident vexation of the county of Clare gentleman induced some officer to listen to his story, and it reached the king's ears. William sent for O'Brien, heard what he had to say, and saw at once the importance of the communication. O'Brien had no notion what Sarsefield's object was, but William divined it instantly, and ordered a body of five hundred horse to be immediately despatched to meet the artillery on its way, and protect it. It appears that, in executing this order, as in communicating Manus O'Brien's information, some delay took place: it was morning before the cavalry marched.

Sarsefield had remained during the day in the Tipperary mountains, in the rear of William's camp. Towards evening the expected train came in sight, moving slowly and securely with its escort along the high road. Sarsefield kept his party out of view, and suffered the train to

pass; then made a short circuit through the hills, and met it again at a point of the road he had fixed on, where there was space for his cavalry to act. Upon this very spot the train had halted; and the men were arranging their encampment for the night in a little level field by the side of the highway. The horses were at grass, and the men had laid themselves down to rest, all but the sentinels, and the few that were busy in making arrangements for the night.

At this instant the Irish general darted upon the convoy. The officer who commanded started upon his feet, and ordered to sound to horse; but it was too late; in an instant the whole party were dispersed or killed. Sarsefield collected the powder, waggons, pontoons, and baggage of every description. The great guns were filled with powder to the muzzle, and then buried two thirds in the earth; and the whole immense pile being made tight with earth and stones, a train of gunpowder was laid to it. The General now collected his men and drew off. When at a sufficient distance, the match was applied to the train, and the whole blew up with a tremendous explosion and concussion of the earth.

The shock was felt in the camp; and the noise was reverberated by the hills in long and terrific pealing. The soldiers in William's lines

heard the sound, and started from their sleep with alarm. All had been expecting the train with anxiety, and most guessed now the catastrophe that had occurred.

The British horse, which had been sent out to meet the convoy, were nearly in time to witness its destruction. The explosion took place just as, from a rising ground, they came in view of the vast mound of combustibles, made visible in the twilight by the flame that scattered and devoured it. They quickened their speed; and, as they reached the smoking ruins, the Irish horse were wheeling quietly from the scene of their exploit. The British cavalry, being much more numerous, attempted to follow; but were soon entangled in the hills, and thought it safer to retrace their steps.

The sound of the explosion, which had reached the camp, was a signal for all the cavalry to turn out; and during the night numerous parties were moving in every direction, with a view to intercept the Irish general; but Sarsfield was too well acquainted with his ground, and he returned to Limerick in safety.

William was resolved not to be subdued by this occurrence. It was found, on examination, that two of the guns were uninjured, notwithstanding that Sarsefield had taken his measures well for their destruction. These were brought to the camp. Another large gun was procured

from Waterford; so that after a while the loss was partially repaired. The want of ammunition was not so easily supplied; but a small quantity of this also was procured, and William made his preparations to press the siege with vigour.

The soldiers now began to recover their spirits, which had been greatly subdued by the destruction of their battering-train. Each regiment was ordered to furnish a certain number of fascines every day; and they proceeded with great alacrity to cut down the orchards and plantations, with which the vicinity of Limerick was then adorned, for the purpose of filling the ditches.

For a short time after William had sat down before Limerick, the peasants of the neighbourhood had evinced a disposition to be upon good terms with the army. They brought provisions freely into the camp, and showed no wish to quarrel with the religion or the politics of this foreign force. But this lasted not long: they soon refrained from coming to the camp, where, notwithstanding William's regulations, they were plundered of their provisions; or, if paid for them, were plundered of the money upon the road; or, as was the more general practice, the soldiers met them on the way coming, and having driven away the peasants, they brought the provisions themselves to the camp and sold

them there. When the country people ceased to bring provisions, the soldiers went out in large parties and plundered the country without mercy.

But they did not confine their offences to robbery. They proceeded to acts of violence upon the peasantry. Crimes that had never been heard of in Ireland, and for which the Irish language furnished no name, were familiar to the soldiery, and were attempted upon the people. The whole population of the country rose in arms around the camp. They fell upon the straggling soldiers, and upon detached parties, and put them to death; and William found it necessary to send out strong parties of cavalry to quell the insurrection of the peasants, and to secure his rear.

While in camp, and occupied with the labours of the siege, and the tumult of popular insurrection in his rear, William was yet compelled to attend to the interests of the church. He issued a proclamation, enjoining the payment of tithe to the Protestant clergy by Roman Catholics, James having left Catholics and Protestants, each at liberty, to pay tithe to their own church. This arrangement, equitable as it seems to be, was loudly complained of at the time, and since. "It was a mockery," says Leland, "to talk of the Protestant clergy being paid by their own congregations, when it was

notorious they had none."—"Why then," said the Catholic writers, "should they be paid at all?"

William's proclamation put an end to the debate. It commanded all Catholics, and persons of all other persuasions whatsoever, to pay tithe to the clergy of the church of England. The proclamation at the time it was issued was of no effect, and William knew it, for his authority in Ireland did not extend beyond the ground he stood upon; but at the conclusion of the war it had full operation, and the clergy were too impatient to get rid of James's equitable principle to wait the termination of his operations.

The king having thus appeased the clamour of the clergy for the Catholic tithe, which James had filched from them, turned his attention to the harder task of winning for himself the Popish fortress before him. This was not to be accomplished by proclamations.

He had now completed his lines and mounted his cannon. The Irish had made some sallies to interrupt his works, and with considerable success. On the other hand, the British had attacked and taken one or two small forts outside the walls, which gave them some advantages in prosecuting the siege. But all those operations were of little effect as to the ultimate object, though attended with heavy losses on both sides, which made it necessary to parley frequently,

for the purpose of burying the dead of both armies.

William confined his attack almost entirely to the Irish-town, which alone was accessible, the other portion of the city being effectually defended by the river. His cannon thundered upon the walls without intermission, day and night. At length a breach became visible, and, as it widened and enlarged, the joy of the besiegers increased, and the fire from the batteries was kept up with all the power and vigour that hope and confident success could inspire. Notwithstanding the efforts of the garrison, to repair the mischief done to the wall, the breach continued to spread until it reached an extent of twelve yards in length. When it had arrived at this dimension, William determined upon the assault, and considered the city as already his own.

On the day fixed for the attack, all the grenadiers of the army, forming a corps of about six hundred strong, were ordered into the trenches. These were supported on the right by a battalion of the blue Dutch guards; and these again by some British and Brandenburg regiments. The Danes were ordered to support the grenadiers on the left, and a large body of cavalry brought up the rear of the attack. The whole was under the command of Lieutenant-general Douglas.

When these important arrangements were complete it was about three o'clock in the afternoon; and all being ready, the signal for assault was given, by firing three pieces of cannon, as had been agreed upon. The last signal gun had scarcely fired, when the grenadiers leaped from the trenches and ran at full speed towards the breach. The rapidity of their movement did not prevent their keeping order. As they approached the wall they fired their muskets, and then threw a shower of granades in the direction of the breach.

The Irish were ready. All the preparations for the assault had been observed, and the interest they excited had produced a perfect stillness in the town. The guns on the walls had ceased firing, and were hushed into silence. The fire from the batteries of the besiegers had also died away; and there was little noise in camp or city, till the signal guns broke the pause which preceded the attack.

The grenadiers had no sooner leaped from the trenches than the guns on the walls poured a steady and tremendous fire of great and small shot upon the assailants. The batteries of the besiegers answered to the roar, supporting the attack with all their might. The grenadiers did not slacken their pace for the tumult of artillery that raged around them. The Irish met them beyond the breach, and the combatants

were now involved in dust and smoke and blood, and in the ruins of the crumbling wall. The day was cloudless; and the sun shone with so intense a heat, that it became intolerable even to the spectators of the combat.

The grenadiers made their way with great gallantry to the counterscarp; and about half Lord Drogheda's regiment broke through the Irish that defended the breach; and, like true British grenadiers, entered the town through every opposition. But these gallant soldiers were not supported, nor were the Irish driven from the wall. After the column had forced its way, and had passed, the troops upon the breach closed in their rear, and presented the same front as before. The British regiments that were coming up halted at the counterscarp, and could not be prevailed upon to advance.

The grenadiers that had entered the city were sacrificed. The troops upon the counterscarp were seized with panic, and could not be got to retreat or to advance. The cannon from the walls mowed them down, and they remained immovable, and exposed to the fire, as if fixed by some spell to the spot. In the mean time the Irish at the breach were observed to open to the right and left, and a few of the gallant grenadiers who had entered the city, rushed through them, followed by a crowd of soldiers and town's people, including a number of women,

who assailed the British troops with loud cries and reproaches, charging them with the crimes which had so much disgraced William's army, and pouring upon them every missile that rage could furnish.

The grenadiers, cut off and abandoned to their fate, had made a desperate resistance in the city, but they were soon overpowered; and their retreat, which was an effort of despair, was even a more gallant exploit than their entrance into the town. Of those that entered few returned, and these were covered with wounds.

Regiment after regiment had been sent to the counterscarp; but there they halted, and could make no way beyond it. Three hours they remained upon that fatal point, exposed to the fire from the walls, and maintaining a murderous conflict with the garrison. At length the expulsion of the grenadiers from the town threw them into disorder, and took away all hope. They fell back at every point, and made a disastrous retreat to their lines. Thus ended this memorable assault.

William had beheld the whole of this desperate conflict from his position at Cromwell's fort, where he had taken his station. The only chance he had of success at any time was in leading the assault himself. If the king had put himself at the head of the regiments on the counterscarp they would probably have followed him to the

breach, and given him a fair chance of success. Cromwell, when his troops were twice driven from the breach at Drogheda, felt the necessity of such a step; and, putting himself at the head of the levellers, forced his way into the town. William did not choose to follow this example. Probably he suspected the fact, that the breach was commanded by batteries erected in the interior of the town, and almost at the corner of every street; so that those who entered did no more than change the scene of conflict.

The conduct of the women of Limerick has been much spoken of in their attack upon the grenadiers; but the excesses committed by this soldiery during the progress of the siege, and the reputation of the loathsome vices with which they were infected, had kindled a rage amongst the females, inside and outside the walls, far surpassing the influence of fear. The apprehension of death was not to be compared with the horror of falling into their hands.

The attack had continued for four hours; and during this time there had been no cessation of firing for an instant on either side. At length all was quiet; and in a little time the smoke that covered the city rose slowly, and was suspended in the air like a magnificent mass of drapery, flung, as it seemed, over the city from the pinnacle of the "Keeper" to the great hills that border the Shannon on the county of

Clare side. This canopy of cloud is said to have presented a very grand appearance on that evening.

The evening was calm and beautiful; and the light was sufficient, when the smoke had ascended, to exhibit somewhat of the wreck which surrounded the city, and lay scattered round the camp. The dead and the dying of almost every nation in Europe strewed the space between the wall and the camp. Scattered limbs, and fragments of human bodies, and torn accoutrements, and broken arms, and the rubbish of crumbled walls and castles, encumbered the ground on every side. An entire battalion of Brandenburgers lay blackened and burnt upon the ground. They had succeeded in scaling the wall of the black battery, as it was called, the fire from which had done great execution upon the assailants. As they had bravely gained their point, a powder-magazine, that supplied the battery, was fired, and blew the regiment into the air.

William had directed the attack of this battery, and all the other movements of the assault, from his position at Cromwell's fort. When all was over, he walked quietly from the fort to the camp. He was not a man to be greatly affected by a reverse of this nature. He had been too much acquainted with the vicissitudes of war. Though often successful, his successes seemed

to be wrenched from fortune, by the steady prudence and energy of his character, rather than gifts conferred freely upon a favourite child.

Anger and sorrow, we are told, were upon the faces of the soldiers. They were amazed at their defeat; and a good deal puzzled to reconcile the overthrow they had experienced with the contempt which it was the fashion in the British army to express, if not to feel, for the Irish troops. They had felt the same awkward embarrassment at the Boyne; where they were compelled to throw the blame of the reverses they had sustained from the Irish horse upon the half pint of brandy administered to the soldiers in the early part of the day.

The British army, and especially the grenadiers, which were almost the only British portion of it, had done their duty well and bravely. More was hardly possible. They had lost more than two thousand men, in killed and wounded, of the flower of their force. The grenadiers were almost entirely destroyed. The loss of the Irish was not ascertained, but it must have been comparatively small. It was said that William's soldiers were willing to risk another attack; but the king knew that another attempt would be the annihilation of his army. The bravest of his force had perished; he had no longer any grenadiers to lead the way; his store of ammunition was nearly exhausted; and

the day following the attack, the rains set in with great violence, and put an interdict upon further operations." The king called a council of war; and it was resolved to raise the siege. The heavy cannon were drawn off; and on Saturday, the 30th of August, the army commenced its retreat.

CHAP. IX.

THE RETREAT FROM LIMERICK, AND SIEGE OF CORK.

THERE could not be a more melancholy train than now began to make their way through the mud and marshes which surround Limerick. It rained heavily, and the roads were deep and broken. The Shannon rose suddenly, and began to overflow its banks, and flood the surrounding country, as if to annoy the retreating enemy. This river, like the great streams of America, flows, for a great part of its course, through a flat country, and in the rainy season converts the low grounds into a marsh.

There was a scarcity of waggons and horses, in consequence of the loss sustained by Sarsefield's successful enterprise. The few that remained were not enough to convey the wounded men. Great part of the stores were, therefore, obliged to be abandoned for want of any means of transport; some were buried, and some blown up and destroyed. Many of the wounded were obliged to walk; for only those who were wholly unable to travel could be furnished with means of transport.

As the whole moved slowly along in the mud, they were joined by a still more dismal train, consisting of the entire Protestant inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Limerick and the surrounding country, with their wives, children, servants, and household goods, as far as they were able to find means of bearing them along. These unfortunate people, in their zeal for the protestant cause, had followed the same course in every respect as the Protestants of Athlone had so lately done, and with the same melancholy consequences. As soon as William had appeared before the walls of Limerick, they had renounced their Irish protections and joined the king's army. They had the warning example of the people of Athlone before their eyes; but they considered that Athlone had been attacked by a division only of the army under a lieutenant-general; whereas the whole royal army of England sat down before Limerick, and the king himself commanded. They did not suffer themselves to doubt the success of an enterprise directed by such ability and power. The fugitives of Limerick were now joined to the fugitives of Athlone, and both together brought up the melancholy rear of the army.

There can hardly be imagined greater misery than what those unhappy people had now to endure. They were taking leave of their homes, perhaps for ever. They were, at all events, aban-

doning them to certain pillage and destruction. The little property they made an effort to take with them soon became the prey of the Protestant *protectors* they had wished for so anxiously, and relied upon so much. The Limerick refugees had not proceeded far, when they were as naked and bereft of food, clothing, and property of every kind, as the devoted people of Athlone had long been.

A retreating army is seldom merciful; but William's, even in their seasons of success, had been a dreadful scourge. Now their ferocity knew no bounds. The king had quitted the army immediately on its breaking up from Limerick; and this fierce and almost disorganised military rabble of all nations, threw themselves upon the country with a rage of spoliation hardly ever surpassed. The people fled in all directions; but the unhappy Protestants of Limerick and Athlone could not fly; they could not escape from the dreadful usage to which they were every moment exposed, and which made them more than martyrs for their faith.

The king was probably tired of his army and of his ill success; and, to escape from both, he set out from Limerick, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and other men of rank, and travelled, with the utmost rapidity, by Clonmel and Waterford, to England.

Before embarking at Waterford, he appointed

Lord Sidney, Sir Charles Porter, and Mr. Conings-by, to be lords justices of Ireland, and Count Solmes to be commander-in-chief of the army.

The king had spent three months in Ireland; and, like Cromwell, he had become impatient and apprehensive of the difficulties of an Irish war. Though he had not succeeded before Limerick, he had not suffered so severely before that city as Cromwell had done before Clonmel. Cromwell took Clonmel, but he lost more than half his army. William failed at Limerick, but his loss did not much exceed three thousand men. Both quitted the kingdom after those unlucky sieges, and never after returned. Both were fully impressed with the conviction that no war against the Irish could be successful, unless that people could be broken by faction and division. Cromwell accordingly laboured that point with the energy and success for which he was so remarkable. He subdued the kingdom by intrigue, and hardly ventured to direct any military operation after his return to England.

Cromwell fought no battle in Ireland. Far from seeking one, he carefully avoided any decisive combat. William's necessities compelled him to fight; and, though successful at the Boyne, it was such a victory as, coupled with the sieges of Limerick and Athlone, had nearly destroyed his army.

The result of the campaign was far from being

unfavourable to the Irish. The two severe defeats which William had sustained at Limerick and Athlone more than balanced his success at the Boyne; and the loss of men and *materiel* which he had sustained was infinitely greater than any thing which had befallen the Irish army. His chief advantage, and it was a great one, was his possession of Dublin: he who is master of the capital being always in some sort the sovereign of the country. William had nearly copied Cromwell's plan of military operations in Ireland; he now sought to imitate his successful system of intrigue. The materials he had to work upon were not quite so good, though by no means unfavourable. Cromwell had the advantage of the incurable and intricate dissensions of the confederates, and the jealousies of the old Irish and Anglo-Irish. In place of these, William had the disgusts and contentions existing between the Irish and French; and ultimately these answered the purpose.

When the British army had reached Callan, on their march from Limerick, some pay, which had been long in arrear, was distributed to them; and the ill humour of the soldiers being thus somewhat appeased, the army broke up for winter-quarters. General Kirk, with seven regiments of foot, and three of cavalry, took the road to Birr. Scravenmore and Tetteau, with twelve hundred horse, and two regiments of Danish foot,

marched for Mallow, on their way to Cork. The remainder of the army was distributed in Cashel, Clonmel, Waterford, and Carlow. After this dispersion, Count Solmes went to Dublin, and shortly afterwards proceeded to England; and the chief command of the army in Ireland devolved upon General Ginckle, who fixed his head-quarters at Kilkenny.

Solmes and Ginckle were both Dutchmen; for William had no confidence in his British officers, and entrusted them with no important command. He showed distrust and jealousy of Marlborough, and with some cause. William was too able a proficient in his art of war, not to discern Marlborough's talent; and he was too good a judge of human nature to trust a man, who, on the first change of fortune, had deserted a prince, who, whatever were his errors, was his friend and benefactor, for a stranger and a foreigner.

About the middle of September the new lords justices arrived in Dublin, and were received with great joy by the citizens, who had been greatly displeased by the coldness, and almost contempt, with which William had treated their overflowing loyalty and protestantism. The justices found the city in great disorder. Their first attention was directed to settle the militia of the town upon a good footing, as some check upon the violent proceedings of a foreign soldiery. Having done this, a proclamation was

issued, ordering, "that country people bringing provisions to market should be protected." William's troops had acted invariably since their arrival in Ireland as in an enemy's country, and could never be made to comprehend the distinction between Papists and Protestants: they robbed all alike, but the Protestants suffered most, being most in contact with them.

The city was now almost in a state of famine, owing to the depredations committed by the soldiers on such of the country people as ventured to bring in provisions. Another proclamation ordered "all Papists to keep within their own parishes." A third commanded the wives and children of soldiers, and other persons belonging to King James's army, "to remove beyond the Shannon." A fourth forbad all Papists "to dwell within ten miles of the *frontier*, on any pretence whatsoever."

This series of proclamations exhibits a melancholy condition of society. The effort to check the outrages of the troops led to the most alarming feuds between them and the militia, without producing much effect in letting in a supply of food to the almost starving citizens. To the evil of scarcity was added a state of almost constant disorder, arising out of the quarrels of the troops. The precautions relative to "Papists" were chiefly directed against the "Rapparies," and those who harboured them. The vast

crease of this disorderly peasantry had grown into a serious mischief, and had been chiefly occasioned by the outrages practised upon them by the soldiery, which left them no means of living, but by reprisal. Their cottages were invariably plundered and burned on the march of the army wherever it moved. The consequence was, that the houseless peasantry assembled in great bodies in the mountains, and being all able to procure pikes, and many of them having fire-arms, they soon became a formidable force, and hanging on the rear and flanks of the British divisions cut off all stragglers, and frequently succeeded in defeating detached parties, and capturing stores, arms, and ammunition. But their hostilities were not confined to the military. They retaliated the injuries they suffered from the soldiers, upon the unfortunate Protestant inhabitants of the country and the villages, or wherever they happened to be exposed to their violence. In the course of this war the Protestants were undoubtedly the greatest sufferers. The Catholics had a powerful and friendly army in the country; and could live in perfect safety within their frontier, and the walls of their fortified towns. The Protestants had no place of safety; they were equally a prey to William's and to James's army, and met with as little mercy from the one as the other; neither did they find security in their walls and ram-

parts. In those situations they were rather in the condition of persons shut up with wild animals in a cage, and in momentary apprehension of being devoured.

The lords lieutenants of counties, and justices of peace, in every place within the British "frontier," exerted themselves to the uttermost to restrain the excesses of the troops. They issued recommendations addressed to the military, assuring them, that "if they would not take things into their own hands, the country would find them with meat, drink, and whatever else they could reasonably think on." But these efforts had little effect. The better disposed of the soldiery became weary of the disorders in which they lived, and great numbers deserted whenever they found an opportunity of escaping to England: these were mostly Englishmen. To put an end to this practice, which was thinning the army, the lords justices issued a proclamation, prohibiting "all masters of ships or other vessels from taking on board any officers or soldiers, unless those of known quality, without passes from the lords justices."

While the government at Dublin were occupied with those regulations which the state of the country rendered necessary, the Irish, according to their custom, were waging a winter's campaign of posts and skirmishes; and with

considerable success. Sarsefield had the chief direction of this warfare, at the head of a large body of light cavalry, and a larger force of armed peasants.

The peasants at Mallow had been bold enough to dispute with General Scravenmore the passage through that town; and he had to dislodge them with some difficulty from the bridge and castle, before he was able to continue his march to Cork.

The Earl of Marlborough was now expected every day at Cork to undertake the siege of that town; and Scravenmore was ordered to support him. Marlborough had become impatient of the inglorious inactivity to which William condemned him; and had contrived to manage a party in the council, and to force himself into command, contrary to the wishes of the king, or with only his reluctant assent. The Princess Anne was at the head of the *English* party at court; and as Marlborough had deserted James for William, so now, with the true instinct of a courtier, or finding that his defection from his old master was not rewarded as he expected, he deserted William for the princess.

The intrigue which led to his appointment to the Cork expedition was probably the mere working of that great military genius, which afterwards filled Europe with its fame, seeking

anxiously its proper place and natural element; probably, too, this might have been the cause of his defection from James, whose system was pacific, and particularly averse from a French war. The natural bent of genius and inclination is in many men checked for their whole lives by the stern resistance of principle; in Marlborough it either met no such resistance or overcame it.

Marlborough represented to the council, and to the leading members of parliament, the importance of securing Cork and Kinsale, which lay so conveniently for receiving supplies from France. Lewis, he stated, was preparing to open the campaign in Ireland with great vigour next spring; and it would be dangerous to suffer the whole south of Ireland, with all its cities and fine harbours, to remain in the hands of the enemy, till the French king should be ready to secure them by such defences as would make their capture extremely difficult, if at all practicable, while France had the command of the sea. The argument was a good one, though it is probable, that Marlborough's only motive was to push himself into military activity. It answered the purpose of the council also, though with them the main object, no doubt, was to mortify William, and to raise up a military rival of British birth against him and his Dutchmen.

As far as the mortification of William and his Dutch officers was concerned the time was auspicious. Their failure before Limerick and Athlone would contrast strongly with the success of the British general, should he be successful. William understood perfectly what were the views and objects of Marlborough and the council; nevertheless he could not refuse to co-operate in the enterprise. But the jealousy and displeasure he felt upon the subject communicated itself to his foreign officers, and was visible in the progress of the siege.

Marlborough entered the harbour of Cork on the 21st of September, at the head of five thousand men. As his fleet passed through the narrow channel that forms the mouth of that fine harbour, he was exposed to the fire of the forts upon the high grounds commanding the channel, and received some damage. But he made good his passage with some ships of war, and sending his boats ashore, and landing some troops, he took the batteries in the rear, and made himself master of them. His whole fleet then entered the harbour. On the 23d and 24th, he landed his troops on the south bank of the river, and commenced his march by the "passage road" towards the city; the sailors drawing the cannon.

By this time the Duke of Wirtemberg had arrived on the north side of the town, at the

head of about four thousand Danes, and other foreign troops, part of William's army. This was Scravenmore's division, of which Wirtemberg had taken the command, with a view, as it appeared, of claiming the direction of the siege, as due to his rank as prince and station in the army. This pretension of Wirtemberg's was probably set up at the instance of William himself, for the purpose of defeating Marlborough's scheme of running away with the honour of the siege. And no doubt it would have been a most effectual mortification, and disappointment of all Marlborough's hopes and contrivances, if the command of the siege could now be wrested from him on so simple a pretence.

He replied to Wirtemberg's claim of rank and authority, "that his commission was an independent one:" he denied the authority of any of William's foreign officers in Ireland, and stated, haughtily, that "his troops were British, and he a British officer." Wirtemberg was offended that the English general should affect to look down upon his Danes, Germans, French, and other foreign ragamuffins that composed his corps, and he insisted the more strongly upon his claim. But Marlborough was not a man to be so easily defeated; and Wirtemberg found it necessary at length to propose a modification of his demand; it was agreed

that both officers should command alternately; an arrangement which answered well enough, where so little was to be achieved.

The capture of Cork was really an exploit of no difficulty; and Marlborough's success was by no means entitled to be set off against William's failure before Limerick. The latter town is seated upon an eminence, and commands all the low grounds around it, without being itself commanded by any. Cork, on the contrary, is built upon the islands and marshes formed by the river Lee, and is surrounded on the north, south, and west, by high hills, which hang over the town. Those hills were defended only by some castles of no great strength; and when these were taken the city lay at the mercy of the besiegers. Against an enemy unprovided with heavy cannon the city might make a stout resistance, for the river spread itself into two branches as it approached the walls, and enclosed it completely within its waters; and beyond the river a breadth of marshy ground extended to the base of the hills.

Beside the disadvantages of its situation, Marlborough's expedition took the city by surprise. The Irish had not looked to any important operation being undertaken before the spring; the garrison was weak and badly provided with stores or ammunition.

Marlborough commanded the first day of the

siege, and gave the word "Wirtemberg." The next day the prince commanded, and returned the compliment, by giving the word "Marlborough." But, notwithstanding this politeness, much jealousy and disunion continued to exist between the generals and the troops to the end of the siege.

Marlborough had constructed his batteries upon the south branch of the river at a religious house called the Red Abbey, some remains of which still continue to exist, and at another point, not far distant, called Friar's Walk; both these positions were separated from the city only by the river and a narrow strip of marshy ground.

The hills upon the north of the city were defended by a castle called Shandon Castle, and two adjoining forts. But on the approach of Wirtemberg upon this side, the garrison set fire to the north suburbs, and abandoning the castle and forts, as not defensible, retired within the city. The Danes, having got possession of Shandon Castle, planted their own guns upon it, and did considerable execution from this post upon the northern quarter of the town. The horse, under Scravenmore, were posted at Gill Abbey, another religious house of note, situated upon a steep hill, which overlooks the town on the west.

Marlborough's batteries at the Red Abbey being complete, he commenced his fire on the

city wall, and was not long in effecting a breach; but in order to storm the breach the river and the marsh were to be passed, which could only be done at low water, and then not without difficulty.

But from the beginning, the besieged, who had not sufficient force to defend the heights round the town, had only looked to obtaining advantageous terms of surrender. When the breach was made and the soldiers were drawn out for the storming; the Irish beat a parley, and proposed to surrender, upon being allowed to march out with the honours of war, and to join their main body at Limerick with arms and baggage.

These were the terms usually granted by William to the Irish garrisons; and for that reason they were peremptorily refused by Marlborough. The British general was determined to agree in nothing with the Dutch prince. The Prince of Wirtemberg, on the contrary, strongly supported the terms which the garrison demanded. He had two motives for granting those conditions; first, because William had generally granted the same; secondly, because Marlborough objected. If he understood, as he probably did, Marlborough's reason for objecting, it would furnish him with a sufficient motive for urging the acceptance of the capitulation.

While this controversy between the generals took place, and was debated with considerable

heat, the tide flowed, and it was no longer possible to pass the river. The regiments that had been drawn out for storming were marched back to camp; the Irish officers returned to the city, and the firing recommenced on both sides.

After some days the breach was considerably enlarged, notwithstanding the efforts of the besieged to repair the injury done to their wall. Wirtemberg, leaving a small force on the north side of the city, marched to the south, and joined Marlborough with his Danes. These, with the earl's English troops, were now again drawn out to storm the breach.

They passed the marshes with much difficulty, and plunged into the water. The river, even at ebb-tide, was deeper than was imagined; the water reached almost the shoulders of the grenadiers. As they struggled with the mud and the tide, they suffered severely under the fire from the walls. The advance of the British was led by the Duke of Grafton, a brave officer, and natural son of Charles the Second. He had nearly reached the breach when he was killed by a shot from the town, and fell upon the spot (now dry ground) called from this event Grafton's Alley. The fate of Monmouth and Grafton, the two sons of the dissolute and unprincipled Charles, was remarkable; both perished miserably, in making war upon their uncle. Their hostility

to James found its excuse, not its justification, in his cruelty and hardness of heart.

As the British grenadiers reached the breach, the Irish beat a parley a second time, and the governor, accompanied by Lord Tyrone, came out to treat for a capitulation.

The garrison were to become prisoners of war, and were to be protected in their persons and private property. All arms and public stores were to be delivered up. All prisoners of war, and for political offences against King James's government, were to be set at liberty. The city was to be preserved from any injury, and the persons and property of the citizens to be protected.

When these terms were agreed to, and the gates delivered to the British guards, a scene of riot and confusion took place, in which every article of the treaty was violated. The British and foreign soldiers were suffered to enter the town in crowds, and finding, as in Dublin, a mob who called themselves Protestants, they proceeded to plunder the houses, and abuse the persons of the Catholic inhabitants. The governor, M'Carty, was wounded, and the Earls of Clancarty and Tyrone made their escape from the mob with great difficulty. At length, Marlborough and Wirtemberg entered the town, and made some efforts to put an end to this disorder, which reflected so much disgrace upon them;

but many had been killed, and much irreparable mischief done.

Terms of capitulation are, perhaps, very rarely observed under any circumstances; but in Ireland it would be somewhat difficult to point out two or three instances where they met with any attention beyond what the circumstances of the time rendered indispensable. Terms between a winning and a losing party are about as binding, in general, as a treaty between those celebrated negotiators, the wolf and the lamb.

It was now October, and Marlborough felt the necessity of completing the second branch of his expedition by the immediate investment of Kinsale. On the evening of the day that he took possession of Cork, he sent five hundred horse towards that town; and the next day he marched himself at the head of his infantry for the same destination. Kinsale was stronger than Cork, and capable of making a much better defence; it was also well supplied with stores and provisions for a siege, in which Cork had been very deficient. The works of Kinsale consisted of two forts, both of considerable strength, called the Old Fort, and Charles Fort. On the approach of the besiegers, the governor set fire to the town, and retired to the forts, and in reply to Marlborough's summons demanding a surrender, he answered coldly, that "it would be time enough to talk about that a month hence."

On receiving this answer, Marlborough ordered Major-general Tettau to pass the river in boats with eight hundred chosen men, and storm the fort. This order was gallantly executed, but with little prospect of success. The fort was strong, and the assault, though fierce, was met by a resistance as resolute. But Marlborough's fortune, which never deserted him, came here to his aid. When the English were nearly beaten from the walls, a quantity of powder accidentally blew up in the castle, by which more than two hundred men of the garrison were killed, and the fortress materially injured. Upon this disaster, the governor abandoned the castle, and withdrew with the remainder of his men to Charles Fort.

This fort was even stronger than the other; it had been built or repaired by the Duke of Ormond, and called Charles Fort in honour of King Charles the First, and it had lately been strengthened with additional works. From his new fort the governor sent an answer of unshaken defiance to a second summons of the British general; but his garrison had been materially weakened by the accident of the explosion and other losses incident to the siege, and he consented at length, after a successful defence of fifteen days, during which he baffled every effort of the British commander, to propose terms of capitulation. These were, that he

should march out with arms, baggage, and all the honours of war, and be conducted, together with whatever persons or property they may choose to take with them, to Limerick.

Marlborough did not venture an objection to those terms: they were instantly granted. He had begun to despair of taking the fort before the weather should compel him to raise the siege. And if this had happened, it would have afforded a triumph to the Dutch party, who would not fail to mock at his vauntings, and to retort upon him the criticisms he had not spared upon the sieges of Limerick and Athlone. The surrender of Charles Fort relieved him in a great measure from this awkward predicament. Marlborough's extreme impatience of the siege, and the little impression he had made upon the castle, induced a suspicion that he had used stronger solicitations than cannon-balls to bend the stubborn spirit of the governor. However this was, it is certain that the terms he found himself compelled to grant put an end to the censures, of which he had been very liberal, upon the capitulations made by William with the Irish garrisons.

This was the commencement of Marlborough's brilliant career in war. His success in this enterprise laid the foundation of that reputation which afterwards obtained for him the highest commands; and yet it is certain, that as to the

taking of Cork it was an affair of no military merit, and at Kinsale he did not succeed. The small share of success of which he could boast was purely accidental. With this exploit of Marlborough's the campaign closed for the winter.

CHAP. X.

THE winter, which had put an end to all regular military operations, had no effect in suspending the activity of the commissioners of forfeited lands and goods. The industry of the commissioners in discovering the goods, chattels, and domains of *disloyal* persons was full of a zeal which no severity of climate or season could cool or abate.

The commissioners had got the names of almost all the Irish proprietors serving in James's army, or adhering to the cause of the king, and some accounts of the situation of their property, and in several instances the names or general denominations of the lands. They now published proposals for letting those lands for a year. But the tenant was required to specify the correct name of the land or farm he proposed to take, and the exact number of acres it contained, under a penalty of being compelled to pay for every acre understated at the rate of twenty-eight shillings per acre for arable, and five shillings for pasture land. It was evident that this

proposal for letting was a mere manœuvre of the commissioners for fishing out the particulars of the property which they were longing to clutch.

Mr. Serjeant Osborn, their majesty's serjeant at law, moved the court of King's Bench in Dublin, that all indictments for high treason found in the several counties of the kingdom against those in rebellion against the king and queen be removed by *certiorari* to the superior courts. This was a process in support of the proceedings of the commissioners; and was a short and easy one, such as they were accustomed to in those days, when forfeitures had been a regular Irish traffic for some centuries; but this trade, which had reached the period of its greatest activity under Cromwell, did not thrive greatly under William.

The indictments found in the "several counties" were very numerous; the more so, as the parties indicted could have no notice of what was doing; and when the proceedings were transferred to Dublin, they were completely shut out from any knowledge of the matter.

It had been long the fashion of the courts in Ireland to be content with the forms of law only, and to be satisfied with mere names upon paper or parchment instead of living beings, which were often difficult to be procured. Bills were sometimes found by juries that had no existence in nature, or returned as found; the

sheriff acting the double part of jury and returning officer. The same economy of human labour was of frequent occurrence in the return of members to serve in parliament. The sheriff representing in his own person the whole constituency, and frequently returning himself. Sometimes, indeed, this was a matter of necessity, where there happened to be no such place as that specified in the writ, or no one living there; and in this case the writ was sometimes accompanied with the name of the person whom the sheriff was commanded to insert in his return; sometimes it was left to his discretion, which might generally be done with safety, as he was himself the nominee of the ruling party. In this manner it was easy to have at one time a parliament of Catholic zealots, and immediately after a house of Protestant fanatics.

Even in Dublin one of the Temple family, being returning officer of the university a few years previous to the period we treat of, saved the college all the bustle of an election by simply inserting his own name, and returning himself. This abuse had become very general in the country, especially under Cromwell, who, even where there were electors that were entitled and desirous to vote, ordered that they should not be permitted to do so without his special authority. The despotism of the Stuarts was liberty and humanity compared with the barbarous do-

minion of Cromwell; and as the Irish looked upon the revolution under William as but a new modification of the old revolution under the Protector, it is not surprising, though unfortunate, that they opposed it with all their might. If they failed in taking the proper distinction between the two revolutions, it is to be recollected in their favour, that in Ireland both revolutions were supported by the same parties. William's adherents in Ireland were almost exclusively the Cromwellians, or their descendants, and the spirit and character of that party since the days of their settlement had little changed.

The lords justices now applied themselves to the task of legislation by proclamations. They ordered that the popish inhabitants of counties should be assessed to make good any damage done to Protestant property within the counties. The principle of this proclamation has been subsequently applied without the religious distinction; and it has been in both forms a cause of great abuses, many persons having by means of this law converted old houses into new ones, or sold them to the counties at a high valuation. This is easily to be accomplished, as is well known in Ireland in disturbed times, by burning one's own house, or procuring it to be burned.

The next regulation was that no Catholic parent should be protected who had a son in the enemy's quarters. The third, declared it unlawful that ten Catholics should assemble in a body;

and that upon any one giving information of ten being seen together, the Catholic priest of that parish should be expelled the kingdom. And he might as well be expelled if this proclamation could have been acted upon, for he could have no congregation.

Having made those regulations, the lords justices were almost immediately rewarded by that greatest of all political enjoyments — the discovery of a plot! "A plot discovered," exclaims the author from whom we quote (a worthy clergyman of the established church) with a degree of ecstasy. It seems that it was actually *discovered* that a small traffic was carried on between Dublin and the Irish quarters beyond the Shannon. There were adventurous people, men and women, who transported upon their persons small quantities of meal, salt, tobacco, and even little kegs of brandy, which they disposed of to the Papists who sojourned in the land of Connaught.

On this "discovery," pursuit was made, and some of the traffickers in those dangerous commodities were overtaken, or nearly so. It appears that a female merchant actually dropped her petticoat in the pursuit, which was triumphantly taken possession of by the exulting pursuers. The petticoat was thought a dangerous article; but this identical petticoat had besides being popish (perhaps popery may be interesting in a petticoat), the further interest of containing

a letter in its folds! Here were materials for a plot — a letter and a petticoat! and both decidedly popish. But this was not all; upon further search, a roll of tobacco was discovered at no great distance from the spot where the petticoat was found. Whether it dropped from the fair owner of the petticoat, or from a male companion, our historian does not say, but in the centre of the roll another letter was detected lurking! What might have been the purport of those letters we are not informed, whether love, brandy, tobacco, or treason, but the consequences were serious. The houses of all Papists in Dublin were searched, and the proprietors "of most of them," we are told, were committed to prison.

The war of the "rapperies" continued to rage with great violence. These troops, for in most instances they observed some kind of order, and were led by their own officers, excited the astonishment of the British by the celerity of their movements, and their capacity of becoming invisible on a sudden. When they thought proper to exhibit themselves to British eyes, it was sometimes in scattered bodies, quite unarmed, and sprinkled over bogs and broken grounds. Immediately they would be seen in close masses, moving at regular paces, and every man with his pike or gun.

The rapperies always chose their ground with

great judgment, and moved rapidly and by signals known only to themselves. They carried the locks of their muskets in their pockets wrapped in flannel, or otherwise carefully protected. The muzzle and touch-hole of their pieces were securely stopped, and the barrel was then deposited in a stream, bog, or ditch, and every man knew, at the instant, where to get his own,—and it was in a moment made serviceable. When it became necessary to disappear, the men deposited themselves with their pikes or muskets in the streams or bog-cuts, or under ditches, and remained hid till summoned by signal to re-appear.

An English author, who was for a while greatly astonished at several surprising adventures of this kind, at length discovered the secret of the disappearance of the rapperies, in what was to him a very amusing manner. Our author was marching with a considerable detachment of British troops, when they were surprised by a party of rapperies on the edge of a bog. The rapperies soon found they had miscalculated the strength of the British party, and thought it necessary to vanish, which they did almost immediately. The English looked round, and not a man was to be seen. Nothing was stirring on the surface of the bog, but the reeds and rushes waving in the wind.

The curiosity of the English detachment was excited, and as they were much the stronger

party, though somewhat apprehensive of ambuscade, they determined to explore the bog. The majority, however, thought this a very unnecessary labour. They had often seen the same thing occur before, and they accounted for it in a very simple manner. They were persuaded that the Papists descended through the earth, and were received and protected by the great author and patron of popery, who resided in the nether regions of the universe. This easy solution of the matter did not prevent some sceptics of the detachment from making the search they proposed; determined at least to discover, if possible, the aperture, by which the Irish had descended into the infernal regions. They had not proceeded far upon the bog, when they discovered the sergeant himself who commanded the Irish party, but not in so hot a birth as they had assigned him. More like a sylvan spirit, he was found up to his chin in a stream of running water.

The poor fellow was taken from his cool retreat and hanged, to the great delight and amusement of the British party, though he offered forty shillings of King William's sterling money for his life. The soldiers laughed at the popish simplicity of the man, and took his life and his money too.

Having disposed of the sergeant, the detachment proceeded on its way, and soon had the

good fortune to meet with another poor Irishman, who, upon being closely examined, was found to have a pair of breeches, as it is described, "made of a gentlewoman's petticoat." He stated that he was travelling to Mullingar.

A consultation was immediately held, in which it was anxiously debated what could be the business of this extraordinary person with the petticoat-breeches at Mullingar, then in the hands of the British. And it was decided that his intention could be no other than to set the town on fire. And as to the metamorphosed petticoat, it appeared to the officers and soldiers that he could only have obtained it by murdering some old lady, or young one, who was the original owner of the article. Having determined those points, the third was easily managed: the man was hanged.

It could not be said that this man's fate was a hard one; many men have suffered as much, and even more, by a petticoat; but this instance, as well as the other of the rapperee, both of which are related by a very grave person, who was himself party to both transactions, may serve more than more spacious illustrations to convey a correct idea of the transactions of the period, and the general mode of waging war in Ireland at that time. An historical picture that has merely breadth of colouring and grandour of outline, will be imperfect, unless it admit the

lighter tint and the minuter object which enter into the composition of every picture in nature, and are essential to its completeness.

While the British army were straitened in their quarters for forage and provisions, in consequence of the harassing operations of the peasantry, the Irish were abundantly supplied. To remedy this state of things, Ginckle had laid down a plan of winter-campaign, the effect of which, he calculated, would be to diminish the supplies of the Irish army, and increase those of his own. His plan was to penetrate from Cork, in the south, to Carbery and Kerry, and, by occupying those extensive districts to confine the Irish within the Shannon, upon that part of their position. On the north he proposed a similar movement, by pressing forward some corps from Enniskillen upon Sligo, and down the western bank of the Shannon, as far as might be practicable. This plan, if it could have been executed, especially on the south, would have straitened the Irish army very much.

Some strong corps of cavalry and some infantry had been pushed westward from Cork and Kinsale, in execution of Ginckle's plan; and they had succeeded in making themselves masters of Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Bantry, and several of the castles on that line of coast. The district of Carbery, though a hilly country, and abounding in passes, and therefore capable

of being easily defended, was not prepared to make any effectual resistance. Cork and Kinsale on the east, while in possession of the Irish, and Limerick on the north, had completely covered this tract of country. When the two former towns fell into the hands of the enemy, there was no longer time to provide means of resistance.

Colonel O'Driscol and Captain O'Donovan, two of the principal proprietors of Carbery, soon arrived upon the coast; and by "raising the country," and putting their tenantry under arms, assembled a large irregular force, consisting chiefly of mounted peasantry, well enough used to predatory warfare, and moving with great rapidity upon the swift and sure-footed little horses of the hills, but quite incapable of making any impression upon the strong castles of the coast, of which the British had possessed themselves.

O'Driscol, however, attempted the recovery of his own castle of Castlehaven, at the head of five hundred of this irregular cavalry. This castle was large and strong, and stood upon a cliff hanging over the sea; on the land-side it is surrounded by hills, where no cavalry could keep their feet, except the mountain-breed of the country. It had been occupied by the Spaniards in 1601, who stipulated to surrender

it to the English; but before the surrender O'Driscol recovered his castle, and drove out the Spaniards.

In the present attempt upon this fortress, Colonel O'Driscol was killed, and his mountain-cavalry dispersed. But to recover possession of Carbery was an important point, as well to the general cause as to the private interests of the Irish proprietors in that quarter. The war that was now waging, like most former wars in Ireland, was a contest for property as well as dominion. When an Irish proprietor was driven out of his castles, he seldom recovered possession of his estate. Mac Finin O'Driscol had commanded a regiment of his own tenantry at the siege of Cork; and not choosing to trust to the capitulation which the governor M'Carty had made, he forced his way, by stratagem, through the besieger's lines, at the head of his own regiment, which consisted of about five hundred regulars.

With this force he marched rapidly westward, along the line of the Bandon river, by Inniskean and Ballineen, small Protestant settlements, the former of which had been lately put into a state of defence by Judge Cox, who had already become possessed of considerable estates in this neighbourhood. O'Driscol did not attempt the little fortress of Inniskean, but hastened on to Castlehaven, where he soon reduced the castle,

and expelled the small garrisons the English had left there, and at Baltimore and Bantry.

These small operations had the effect of disconcerting Ginckle's plan, which sustained further injury by the failure of Tettau's expedition. This general marched from Cork in December, the weather being very fine, at the head of a considerable force. He proceeded at the head of his main body north-westwards towards Macroom, with an intention to penetrate by that route into Kerry, while he despatched Coy's and Eppinger's dragoons, and some regiments of infantry, in a south-westerly direction, with instructions to dislodge the Irish from their positions on the coast, and then, wheeling northwards, to join him in Kerry.

Tettau was not able to penetrate through the mountainous district that divides Cork and Kerry. The light troops of the enemy hung upon his march, and burned and wasted the country before him, while they occupied the passes in great force, and disputed them warmly. The aspect of the country made the British general hesitate, and after a while he abandoned the enterprise as impracticable. When he returned to Cork he learned that his second division had failed likewise to penetrate into Carbery. They had proceeded as far as Ross, where, finding Colonel M'Carty entrenched with six hun-

dred men, they contented themselves with taking a small fort in the neighbourhood, and then, wheeling to the north, passed the Bandon river, and made their way into Kerry, where, finding Tettau had not succeeded, they returned, with some difficulty, to Cork.

Douglas and Kirk, who had attempted to circumscribe the Irish quarters upon the north, met with as little success; and Ginckle's plan of winter-campaign came to nothing. Ginckle himself attributed the failure of his plan to the refusal of the lords justices to issue a proclamation of pardon and security for person and property to all who would come in and accept his majesty's peace. This proclamation he considered as the most material part of his plan, as no doubt it was; and he did not look to the success of his military operations without it. He therefore urged the policy of the measure, and earnestly solicited it, as indispensable towards the success of the next campaign. But the council in Ireland, and the lords justices themselves, were now strongly infected with the lust of confiscation, and were far from wishing to afford any facilities of reconcilement to those who had any thing to lose. There were still some lands that had remained to the ancient proprietors after the wreck of former wars, situated chiefly upon the coast, and in remote districts of the country; and William's train of adventurers

were busily employed in looking after these. Such a proclamation as Ginckle proposed would, if it had any effect, completely defeat their schemes.

The king himself supported the views of his general; but, though powerful in the field, he found himself frequently defeated in the cabinet. He did not understand his own position in England; and though in principle an honest man, he had not resolution enough to act the wise and honourable part which it was sometimes in his power to do. He suffered things, in a great measure, to go their own train in England and Ireland. All that Ginckle could procure from the Irish council was a permission to publish a declaration *in his own name*, if he thought proper, to the effect, "that their majesties had no design to oppress their Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom in their religion or their properties, but had given him authority *to grant reasonable terms* to all such as would come in and submit according to their duty." This vague and evidently illusive declaration was much more calculated to excite the apprehensions of the Catholics than to appease their fears. They saw clearly how the matter stood; and dismissing all hopes of accommodation, both parties prepared for the struggle of the approaching campaign.

William had nominated his privy council in Ireland, during the winter; and had appointed

judges to all places on the Irish bench, vacant by the flight or displacement of James's judges. Several of the judges under James had been Protestants, and, to the honour of the king, had been suffered to entertain and declare their political and religious opinions with great boldness, without incurring any risk of losing their places. On the coming in of William, on the contrary, all the Catholic judges were displaced, or obliged to fly, though some of them were men of great ability and acknowledged integrity. Unfortunately most of the judges and law-officers of this period, whether Catholic or Protestant, were politicians, and some of them very warm ones, as Nagle and Rice.

The new council were sworn in before the lords justices on the first of December.

Circuits were appointed for the judges; and some attempt was afterwards made to carry them into effect within the frontier; and other measures were proposed for the improvement of the country and the prosecution of the war; the latter only were of much effect.

The first proclamation of the new council was one declaring war against France, and prohibiting all trade with that country. Another prohibited the exportation of Irish wool to any part of the world except England.

An attempt was made to establish a dock-yard at Waterford for building ships of war;

the coast from that town to Dublin abounding with the finest oak-timber; but it seems not to have been persevered in. At a subsequent period, however, some king's ships were built at Kinsale.

Stores and ordnance were now arriving every day from France, on the one hand, for the supply of the Irish army, and on the other, from England for the service of the British. Besides these supplies, a great number of officers from the Continent were constantly joining both armies. On the Irish side the arrivals were chiefly French and Irish in foreign service; on the other, were a mixed crowd of Dutch, Danes, and Germans. The attention of all Europe was fixed upon the approaching campaign.

William was fully sensible of the importance of the struggle that was about to take place: he had learned to estimate the enemy he had to contend with, much more highly than he had been disposed to do at the beginning of the war; and he made all the exertion to meet the crisis which the jealousies of the British parliament and the exhausted state of the country permitted him to do.

But it was otherwise with Lewis. The policy of the French king had been all along to starve and protract the war in Ireland, for the purpose of embarrassing William's operations on the Con-

tinent, and exhausting his means. William was anxious to close the contest in Ireland, that he might transfer the war, and concentrate his whole force upon the French frontier. Lewis was not so much anxious for victory as to avoid defeat in Ireland; he therefore never augmented his force in the Irish army beyond five or six thousand men; a corps incapable of performing any considerable service.

Among the arrivals from France, in company with a number of French and Irish officers, were the Chief-baron Rice, the Attorney-general, Sir Edward Nagle, and James's Lord-lieutenant, the Duke of Tyrconnel, who brought with them some clothing for the Irish army, and about 8000*l.* in money. This paltry supply of money occasioned universal discontent, and the clothing was of so mean a quality that the soldiers refused to wear it. It was now evident to the Irish how little they could rely upon the French court. The discontent of the officers of the army was increased into indignation when they learned the conduct of the French government towards the Irish prisoners, sent to France by the British government to be exchanged. The French readily exchanged William's Dutchmen for Irish soldiers, but refused to exchange Dutch officers for Irish, according to the rank the latter claimed; thus disparaging the Irish army in the sight of all

Europe. This affront increased the misunderstanding already subsisting between the two nations.

The Irish soldiery thus exchanged were incorporated by Lewis into his own army and navy, without any consultation with the Irish authorities.

There was now a favourable opportunity for improving the indignation against France into an inclination to treat with William. But the Irish government were rather apprehensive of such a result than disposed to encourage it. After a while, advices were received from France, in which an effort was made to soothe the discontents of the Irish army; some explanation of the affair of the prisoners was attempted; and much more considerable supplies of arms, clothing, money, and men were promised.

A movement was now made along the whole line of the Irish army, stretching from the sea at Ross-Carbery upon the south to Macroom, and through Kerry and Limerick, and along the course of the Shannon by Athlone to Sligo. Upon the extreme right, Colonels O'Driscol and M'Carty moved from their position at Ross with two regiments, and attacked the town of Clonakilty, in which was a British garrison. After investing Clonakilty, they proceeded to dislodge the small posts of Inniskean and Ballineen on the Bandon river, while a

similar movement was made from Macroom, along the line of the Lee, and at Athlone and Ballymore, upon the Shannon. These movements were defeated by the vigorous and masterly dispositions of Ginckle, who at the head of three thousand men defeated and drove back the advance of the Irish at Ballymore.

A considerable portion of the spring was consumed in small operations of no important result, when two British frigates arrived in the bay of Baltimore (the Dragon and Advice) with a small French prize. They brought accounts that the long-expected fleet from France had arrived in the Shannon.

This fleet brought troops, military stores, and, above all, the general in chief, nominated by Lewis and James, to command the royal army in Ireland. Lewis was now in effect king of Ireland, or might have been, if he had thought proper. An additional ten thousand men, and a few more officers of real talent, would have given him the kingdom.

CHAP. XI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1691.

St. Ruth, the general now sent to command the Irish army, was the only French officer that ever displayed even ordinary talent in the Irish war. Though St. Ruth was a man of considerable military reputation, his appointment to the chief command of the Irish army was felt by the Irish officers as a great indignity, and contributed to increase the alienation and disgust already existing amongst the Irish towards their French allies. St. Ruth, though too much a man of talent to despise the Irish military, as some of the French officers affected to do, yet treated the discontent which his appointment had created with the arrogant and disdainful levity of his nation. His manners were particularly offensive to the Irish officers.

Sarsefield, who had expected the command of the army, was displeased and discontented; and the whole Irish nation, who had looked anxiously to his appointment, were equally disappointed. Sarsefield's rank, talent, and influence with his countrymen, had all pointed him out as the man most competent and best entitled to command

the army; but a French commander was necessary to give Lewis that hold of the kingdom which he required. James endeavoured to console his Irish general with a title; he was created Earl of Lucan; but Sarsefield was not a man to be appeased with baubles.

Tyrconnel had been even worse treated than Sarsefield. He had been the mere creature of the French court, and had been deluded with obscure visions of an Irish crown, which the *Grand Monarque* proposed to place upon the head of his faithful viceroy in Ireland. Disappointed in these flattering hopes, and displeased at the mode in which the war was conducted by the French, Tyrconnel had become discontented, and it was found necessary to remove him. Rice and Nagle were appointed lords justices in his place; and this appointment gave universal satisfaction, for the new justices far surpassed the lieutenant, both in talent and integrity.

Apprehensive of the discontents and jealousies prevailing in the Irish army, the Catholics watched anxiously the disposition of William's government in Ireland; but they saw that the local administration stood between them and the king, and that nothing remained but to fight, and take the chances of the war.

Ginckle had now taken the field, and had established his head-quarters at Mullingar, pre-

vious to opening the campaign. St. Ruth had assumed the command of the Irish army; and his orders were obeyed by the Irish officers with a cold and ceremonious but strict attention. He was busily engaged in parades and inspections along the whole line of the army, now concentrated between Limerick and Athlone. The Irish cavalry were found very deficient in horses; in other respects the army was greatly improved in discipline and appearance since the battle of the Boyne. They were well clothed, their own country furnishing much better materials than what had been sent from France. From the latter country, however, they had received considerable supplies of arms, and they were in that respect much better appointed than at the Boyne. They were much improved also in the material point of petty officers, who were now more conversant with their duties than the raw recruits of the former year had been. They had passed the winter in plentiful quarters, and enjoyed an abundant supply of food.

The difficulty was to find horses. The rapparees had been very successful in carrying off the horses of the English cavalry during the winter by stratagem; and it was a common practice of the Danish soldiers and other foreign troopers to sell their horses to the Irish at the outposts, and pretend they were stolen. But all these means of supply were still insufficient;

and it was finally determined to try the effect of a stratagem upon their friends, as that upon their enemies had not been productive to the necessary extent.

A proclamation was issued by the new commander-in-chief, inviting the gentry within the frontier to attend the general at Limerick, mounted and accoutred in their best manner. This proclamation was circulated through every part of the Irish quarters, and reports were spread that an important communication was to be made to the gentlemen of the country from King James, and that marks of honour and distinction were to be conferred upon several. Accordingly, there was a very numerous attendance of gentry on the day fixed. The parade was appointed at the King's Island, near Limerick, and the assemblage on the ground made a very gallant show.

St. Ruth appeared on the ground attended by a large body of cavalry. He made a speech to the gentlemen present, complimented them on their punctual attendance and gallant appearance, set before them the arduous nature of the contest they were engaged in, and the necessity of great sacrifices and exertions to preserve them from the pollution of heresy, and the loss of their estates. After this the general quitted the ground, and the gentlemen were ordered to dismount and deliver their horses to the cavalry. It

was in vain to contend, and impossible to escape. They were assured that the measure was indispensable to the king's service and to their own cause, and that his majesty would not forget the zeal of the gentlemen who attended, and the sacrifice they made for the welfare and honour of the country. It was useless to be angry. The horses were delivered up, and the gentlemen found their way to their homes as they could.

After this St. Ruth marched at the head of about twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, all well appointed, and directed his route towards Athlone.

Upon this point also Ginckle was directing his movements, and was assembling his whole force about Mullingar. He had not hesitated not only to weaken but to leave wholly undefended the whole line of his posts from north to south of the kingdom, and did not suffer himself to be moved by the clamour which was every where raised by the Protestant inhabitants, now left exposed to the attacks of the peasantry. In Dublin the alarm was extreme, when nearly the whole garrison marched out to join Ginckle at Mullingar! The citizens in this extremity formed themselves into volunteer corps, and kept guard, in hourly apprehension of being attacked by the mountain-peasants of Wicklow. Ginckle would not listen even to the entreaties of the council and the

lords justices. He replied to their remonstrances, on being left so exposed, that they had it in their power to put an end to the war, by publishing such a declaration of pardon and security for person and property as would satisfy the Irish in James's army. But the council, even in this moment of alarm, refused to renounce their golden hopes of confiscation.

Ginckle's first attack was directed upon the large village of Ballymore, which lay between his frontier-post of Mullingar and the enemy's fortress of Athlone. Ballymore was naturally a strong post, and the Irish had lately strengthened it considerably. It was surrounded on nearly three sides by a lake, on the fourth it was defended by a bog, and was approachable only by a narrow neck of land which was strongly fortified. The village was occupied by about a thousand men, cavalry and infantry; and a few more were posted in a castle on an eminence at some distance from the village.

Ginckle made his first attack upon the castle, which was defended by a sergeant only and a few men. But the sergeant made so long and brave a resistance, that the Dutch commander lost his temper; and when the castle was at length taken, he showed his admiration of the soldier's brave and faithful discharge of his duty by ordering him to be hanged — and he was hanged accordingly.

Notwithstanding this Dutch mode of treating prisoners of war, the garrison of Ballymore were not intimidated, though Ginckle sent word by a trumpet, that if they did not surrender the post, he would serve the whole garrison as he had served the sergeant at the castle. The threat produced no effect; the garrison made a brave and long defence; and when at last they capitulated to Ginckle's numerous army, the Dutch general had the grace not to execute his threat. Perhaps the vicinity of the Irish army, then approaching Athlone under St. Ruth, might have served to strengthen this amiable humanity.

Having obtained possession of Ballymore, Ginckle carefully secured and fortified it with additional works before he ventured to make another step towards Athlone. This occupied him for some days; and when his defences were complete he moved forward with much caution and circumspection.

Having carefully reconnoitred the fortress, he chose his position and sat down before it, with a determination to carry the town, at whatever cost. He was aware of the resistance which Athlone had before made to the force under Douglas, and that it was now in a better state of defence, and he had accordingly provided for the siege with all the providence and precaution which the occasion required. He was abundantly supplied with heavy artillery. His corps

of sappers and miners was complete, and he had in his army some of the most experienced and scientific artillery-men and officers, who had been formed in the sieges of the great fortresses of the Continent.

A deep interest rested upon this siege. On the one side the attack was supported by the whole British force in Ireland; on the other, the defence was sustained by the whole power of the Irish army, led by a general who had already acquired fame in the wars of the Continent. Athlone had distinguished itself by its defence the previous year against Douglas; and it had now the advantage of its reputation, and the obligation to support it.

William's failure before Limerick had been attributed partly to the previous failure before Athlone. He was censured for not having first attacked the latter town with his whole force, and then proceeded to Limerick. This plan was now adopted; and the result was anxiously looked for in every part of Ireland, England, and France. The general impression all over Europe was that the campaign now about to open must be decisive; and that even though it might not conclude the war, it would certainly determine the issue of the great questions which involved the fate of the British crown, and the station which the churches of the Reformation were hereafter to hold in Europe; and, in a great

measure, the ascendancy of the French monarchy amongst the nations of the west. It was the misfortune of France not sufficiently to estimate the interests which hung upon the operations on the Shannon.

That part of the town which lay upon the eastern bank of the Shannon, and was called the English town, had been abandoned and burnt by Grace, the governor, in the former siege. On the present occasion, it was resolved to defend both sides of the town. The fortifications of the English quarter were repaired, and additional works erected, and the town was abundantly supplied with stores and provisions.

The Irish army lay encamped within two miles of the place. Their camp was strongly entrenched; and every precaution had been taken to secure a rapid communication with the town.

Nothing could be more favourable to the Irish than the plan of campaign which Ginckle had adopted, and which yet was the only one perhaps that he could have chosen. St. Ruth's position upon the Shannon, with ordinary skill and care, was impregnable; and if the French commander had done his duty as well as his Irish officers and troops, Ginckle's army would have perished before the town, or he would have been compelled to a retreat, which would have been his destruction.

No doubt the cause of liberty in Britain, and all over the world, required it otherwise; and the chief source of regret that remains is, that the terms which the Irish were now anxious to obtain, and which William was desirous to grant, were not arranged before the murderous conflicts which were now about to commence. William knew the true reason why he was not permitted to make peace with his Irish subjects. He knew, too, that every acre of land wrested from them to satisfy the appetite of confiscation, would cost the people of Great Britain a thousand times its value; and that the ascendency of the church of Ireland would be one of the dearest purchases that Britain ever made. The Irish war laid the foundation of the debt of England.

"It is your fault," said some Irish officers, who had been taken prisoners near Athlone, and brought before Ginckle; "it is your fault that we are your enemies. We are certain of our unhappiness in depending on the French; but you have made it necessary for us: we must, and will, and are prepared to fight it out."

Ginckle himself was so sensible of this, that though he had failed during the winter to procure a declaration, which would afford fair terms to the Irish, and had in consequence been defeated in his winter's campaign, yet he now again laboured the point with all his might. Without such a declaration, he considered the

campaign about to open as almost hopeless. Ginckle's view of the case was supported by the lords justices' secretary; but their combined efforts did not succeed. The council would not forego their hopes of forfeitures; nor the church surrender its claim to universal tithe and dominion.

"I did very much hope," said the secretary, in a letter to Ginckle, "that, upon this progress over the Shannon, some favourable declaration might have been emitted to break the Irish army, and save the cost of a field-battle. But I see our civil officers regard more adding 50*l.* a-year to the English proprietary in this kingdom than saving England the expense of 50,000*l.* I promise myself it is for the king's, the allies', and England's interest, to remit most, or all the forfeitures, so that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their majesties'. obedience."

This letter is a distinct avowal, from the highest authority, that the war had now become what all the previous wars in Ireland had been, a war "of confiscation;" and, as in most former instances, also against the will and consent of the crown, as well as against the interest of the state, which is chiefly concerned in the peace and security of private property. The violent transfer of landed property disturbs the very foundations of society. Ireland has not

yet recovered the injurious effects of the confiscations under William. England expended her blood and treasure lavishly in this war to purchase a danger which has ever since threatened her peace.

While Ginckle was labouring at his works before Athlone, St. Ruth sat securely in his camp, entertaining the ladies and gentry of the neighbourhood with balls and feasts; and dazzling their Irish simplicity with a display of the elegance and refinements of the French court, mingled, according to the habit of his nation, with military parade, and the frivolities of an insipid gallantry. He had surveyed the defences of Athlone, and thought them beyond the power of the British army. He seems also to have entertained the strange opinion that Ginckle would not venture seriously to attack Athlone while he lay with his army in the vicinity. He considered the name and reputation of St. Ruth to be a tower of strength to the town beyond all its walls and castles. His Irish generals saw the weakness of the Frenchman; and though it cost them Athlone, they were not a little amused with his vanity. They were certain that the British would soon cure him.

St. Ruth was a military coxcomb of some talent, but of insufferable arrogance and vanity. Like a Chinese grandee he believed his own nation to be the first upon the globe; and a

French soldier to be an irresistible animal, whether in the field or in the drawing room. The extravagant pretensions of the French had offended the Irish, especially as they were not sustained by substantial performances. The French had hardly been in battle since their arrival in the country, and never showed any anxiety for the post of danger. Their manner of making love was as little to the taste of the country as their mode of making war. The Irish were not sufficiently polished to understand or to relish that light, general, and contemptuous tampering with the sex called gallantry. The ladies could not comprehend how the champion of the church, and the great pillar of the faith, could be a man of levity and intrigue.

Though the Irish have several points in common with the French, they could never much respect or value the French character as a whole, and although they differed almost in every point of character from the British, they associated better with them, and esteemed them more highly. The difference of character between the people of the two islands was not a reason against their being united in one empire, but rather an argument in favour of such a union; and the similarity of character in some respects, in the French and Irish, did not at all tend to encourage or promote a political connection between the two countries.

The Irish, like the French, are a gay people, but the gaiety of the former is the joyousness of the heart, that of the latter is mere levity or play of the fancy, often cold and superficial. In another particular the contrast was stronger. The Irish were as remarkable for their melancholy as for their gaiety. The gaiety of the French had no flow of melancholy, for it was unconnected with feeling.

It was natural in the Irish, as in any people of much feeling, to prefer the pride and gravity of the British to the levity and insolence of the French; and accordingly the former defects, if they be such, were much more tolerable to them.

The result of Ginckle's first operations against Athlone proved the correctness of Colonel Grace's opinion that the eastern division of the town was not tenable. Ginckle soon reduced this part of Athlone to a heap of ruins by the weight of his artillery. Walls, buildings, and towers, were crumbled into rubbish; and after several sanguinary assaults the Irish abandoned that bank of the river and withdrew to the Irish town. The British grenadiers, on entering the eastern town, found it a mass of ruined buildings, and dead bodies of the soldiers piled in heaps, and hardly covered with the wreck of the works they had perished in defending.

The taking of this, the weaker portion of

Athlone, cost Ginckle dearly, and filled him with anxiety for the result of the siege. He was now divided from the Irish town by the river which was crossed by a stone bridge, one arch of which, that connecting it with the western bank of the Shannon, was broken down.

Ginckle now erected his batteries upon the ruins of the English town, and covered almost every spot with his guns. Since he had got possession of these ruins he had received a reinforcement of eleven large guns and three mortars from Dublin. At the foot of the bridge he erected a battery of five twenty-four pounders and six mortars. In the rear of this, and on each side of it, there were a succession of batteries, planted on more elevated ground, and all bearing directly upon the town, at the distance only of the river's breadth.

The fire of all those batteries were directed, in the first place, upon the castle or citadel of Athlone, which, though a building of great strength, soon gave way under the weight of fire with which it was assaulted, and fell, tower and battlement following each other, slowly, and filling the town with their ruins. There was a mill which stood in the river, and was connected with the bridge, and which was occupied as a post by a party of sixty Irish. This post was not attacked, but from the vast number of shot which passed over it and fell upon it, the build-

ing soon took fire, and the soldiers, not being able to escape, were burnt.

Seven great batteries now played incessantly upon the town. There was no intermission of the fire day or night. On the 26th of June, thirty waggons loaded with powder, and one hundred carts of cannon-balls, arrived in the British camp from Dublin, to supply the ammunition which had been expended. The interior of the town was reduced to ruins. Nothing remained standing but the walls; and these preserved their position only by being continually repaired. The Irish laboured incessantly to repair the breaches in the walls; but this was a task of almost certain destruction; the workmen fell as fast as they came to their work: others followed; and these again were swept away; and still there were found men willing to labour at this task of death.

The night afforded no protection; for it was the month of June, and the weather exceedingly clear; and the fire of the guns and mortars added a splendid illumination.

The town returned the fire of the besiegers with great spirit, notwithstanding the immense superiority of the British in number and weight of metal. And it now seemed as if all that could be accomplished by the fire of gun and mortar was done; and the British were nothing advanced towards the capture of the place. The

town was reduced to ashes, but the river and the broken arch still separated them from the ruins. To remain where they were was impossible; to retreat would be defeat and destruction. The country, upon every side, was exhausted, and no longer afforded food for man or horse. The country-people had fled from the spoliations and cruelties of Ginckle's foreign soldiery, carrying with them their effects; and the Irish light troops and armed peasantry hovered round the camp, laid the country waste, and intercepted their supplies and communications from Dublin.

A council of war was summoned to consider what was to be done. Ginckle laid before the council the state of the army. It was admitted that they must force the passage of the river without further loss of time, or submit to the alternative of retreat, and loss of the campaign. The pass at Lanesborough had been tried with a strong division, but it was found well fortified, and would have required the whole strength of the army to force it; and would then probably bring on a general action under great disadvantages. It was finally resolved, as a last effort, to try the passage at the bridge, by throwing a wooden gallery across the broken arch, and forcing their way at any cost or risk.

Some additional batteries were now raised, all bearing upon the bank of the river opposite the broken arch; and a heavy fire was poured

without intermission upon this point. The British had constructed a breast-work on the bridge, upon their side of the broken arch; from behind which the grenadiers of the army were directed to throw grenades incessantly upon the works of the enemy. The Irish, upon their side of the arch, had also a breast-work built in a similar manner, of earth and wattles.

After some days the breast-work on the Irish side was set on fire by the continual assault of shot and grenades. The wattles, of which it was composed, heated by the weather and the continual firing, blazed with great violence. The English hastened to profit by this accident; and, under cover of the flame and smoke, they succeeded in laying the large beams of their gallery across the broken arch.

It was now only necessary to lay the planks across the beams. The breast-work still continued to burn, and the fire from the batteries was directed upon it with redoubled fury while the grenadiers were busily engaged laying the planks upon the great beams. Much of this important work had been accomplished, when a sergeant and ten men, in complete armour, leaped over the burning breast-work, on the Irish side, and proceeded resolutely to tear up the planks and beams that had been laid with so much labour, and fling them into the river.

This bold proceeding struck the British with

surprise, and made them pause for a moment. The next instant the batteries thundered on the spot, and these few brave men were all killed; but not till much of their work had been accomplished. They were instantly succeeded by another party armed in the same manner, as brave, and more successful. These completed the task the first party had commenced, and before they fell, they flung bridge, planks, beams and all, into the tide. Two escaped; the rest perished; but the task was done.

There is not upon record an instance of nobler heroism than this of these few humble soldiers. It was not an attack upon an enemy where a desperate daring might find some hope of safety; it was not a risk shared with a multitude, where an electric courage spreads through the mass and animates the individual; it was a deliberate, certain, and almost solitary death.

The destruction of the bridge filled the British army with consternation; and the manner of its destruction added to the embarrassment which overwhelmed the commanders; as it evinced a spirit and confidence in the Irish soldiery, which was all that was wanting to give them victory.

Another council was called in this emergency; and, with the steady perseverance of British troops, it was determined to try another effort before they would submit to the disgrace of a

retreat. A new bridge was to be constructed different from the former. It was called a *close* gallery; and was to be pushed across the broken arch when planked and nearly finished. Some chosen men of the boldest and bravest of the army were to be in readiness to force a passage by this platform; a second division of the army was to cross the river by a ford below the bridge; and a third was to try its fate upon a bridge of pontoons. Great preparations were made for this assault; the last, it was thought, that it would be possible to make, and decisive of the fate of the siege, and perhaps of the army. The night previous to the attack the British troops were harangued by their officers, and gold was distributed to them to excite their courage.

The Irish were informed by French deserters of every thing that occurred in the English quarters; and early on the morning of the assault several strong divisions of the Irish army were seen marching from their camp into the town. Here they were drawn up, and stood to their arms, waiting the movements of the British. But various delays occurred, and it was late before they were prepared to move. At length, however, all was ready; and at ten o'clock the whole army stood in close column behind the wall of the English town.

The column upon the bridge was the first that,

moved forward. The platform was thrown across, and adjusted with less difficulty than had been imagined; and now the grenadiers at the head of the column stood in the act to pass. They commenced by throwing their grenades from behind their breast-work at the Irish grenadiers, who stood in close order upon the opposite bank. The Irish kept their ground and returned the showers of grenades with equal effect. While the British column hesitated to advance, their breast-work, which they had not yet crossed, took fire, and blazed with great fury. Great efforts were made to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and the wind which blew strongly from the west drove the smoke and fire into the faces of the soldiers. The grenadiers at the breast-work now fell back to avoid the flames, and made an effort to build a second breast-work behind the burning one. Much time was lost in this attempt, and the Irish improved the delay by setting fire to the newly constructed bridge. In a few hours the whole of this laborious work was destroyed.

The other divisions of the army, finding that the grenadiers upon the bridge made no way, stood still; and, finally, the whole retreated, covered with dismay and confusion. On the evening of this grievous result of an enterprise, which had been looked to with so much expectation and anxiety, a council of war was again held to

deliberate upon the present posture of affairs. They had been now a third time baffled and defeated in their attempts to cross the river; once at Lanesborough, and twice at the bridge, after infinite labour and expense. And what made the last failure the more grievous was, that it was undoubtedly owing to the hesitation of the column on the bridge, though composed of chosen men, and though money had been liberally distributed amongst them. The position of the army on the eastern bank of the river was no longer tenable. They had exhausted and wasted the country for miles, and the troops could no longer be subsisted. Could they, after so many failures, make another attempt? and if they gained the opposite bank, what might be their fortune there? The usual high confidence of the army seemed shaken; while the enemy appeared to collect spirit and vigour from their repeated disasters. Were they then to measure back their way to Dublin in the face of a triumphant enemy, and covered with discomfiture and disgrace? This was the question which divided the council.

After much deliberation it was resolved to make yet another attempt, before they submitted to a measure so fatal in the outset of the campaign as a retreat must be. General Mackey and Ginckle himself were the only officers who opposed this resolution. The former was an

old and cautious Scotchman, whose age and tried valour permitted him to oppose a rash enterprise without incurring any unjust imputations. Ginckle's opposition was said to be intended merely to pique and excite the zeal of his officers. It was finally determined to make the attempt at daylight in the morning, in the hope of taking the Irish by surprise.

This was now the only hope of the British general; and it was accordingly given out that the army would retreat in the morning. In the evening the heavy cannon were withdrawn from the batteries, for the purpose of impressing the Irish with an opinion that they had abandoned the enterprise, and were preparing to retreat. At night two deserters arrived from the town, and gave information that St. Ruth was completely caught in the trap laid by the Dutch general. He had abandoned himself to the notion that the English would not again venture to renew their attack; and, contrary to the opinion and advice of his Irish generals, he had withdrawn the regiments from the town which had been marched from the camp in the morning, and replaced them with only three battalions of inferior troops. The Irish officers were by no means satisfied that Ginckle had given up the attack; and remonstrated warmly with Saint Ruth. But the Frenchman was offended at their boldness; and, to mark his indifference to their

opinion, he had invited a large party of ladies and gentlemen to an evening entertainment; and it was calculated that he would be retired to rest about the hour that the attack would commence.

This information tended to inspire the Dutch commander with hope; and he learned, with additional satisfaction, that the Irish and British troops were waging a war of words at the outposts during the night. It was a serene and moonlight night. The Irish sentinels lay stretched upon the bank of the river, or slowly pacing their watch, and from time to time they amused themselves with ridiculing the hesitation of the British grenadiers upon the bridge, in their peculiar strain of humour, or taunting them with having badly earned the money that had been distributed amongst them previous to the attack. The British answered, as well as they could, by referring to other occasions when the Irish had shown less spirit. Ginckle was glad to find his troops undergoing this salutary preparation for the morning's combat.

The steadiest and boldest troops of the British army were to lead the attack. Their valour was excited to the utmost, by the exhortations of their officers, and a second and more profuse distribution of guineas. Talmash, one of the bravest commanders of the army, led the onset as a volunteer. Mackey had the command,

though he disapproved of the attack, for it was his day. Hamilton, Hesse, Tetteau, Wirtemberg, and Mollinière, all led their respective divisions in person.

The ford near the bridge had been tried a few days before, and found practicable. Several Danish soldiers, who had been sentenced to be shot for some military offences, were promised pardon, if they crossed the river and returned alive. They crossed, and returned in safety, notwithstanding the fire of the Irish batteries; and thus proved that the river was fordable.

It was now morning; and it was plain from the Irish side of the river that the British army were in motion; but that was only what was expected. It was fully believed they were mustering for retreat. The bustle in the English camp was observed by a few sentinels only on the Irish lines. The garrison in the town slept in profound security. St. Ruth's camp was as still as death. The general and his officers had not long retired from the festivities of the night, and were dreaming perhaps of the rustic beauties that had graced the ball.

The British were drawn up inside of the town wall, that screened them somewhat from the view of the opposite sentinels. They were ready to move forward in three columns. The head of the leading column was composed of sixty chosen men in complete armour, twenty

abreast. The signal to move forward was to be the tolling of the church bell from the little steeple of the English-town church.

It was a still and bright morning; and the columns were in order, and every arrangement completed, for some time before the hour appointed. The soldiers waited in perfect stillness and quietness: at length the church bell tolled six. As the bell ceased to toll, the grenadiers moved steadily, but rapidly, to the river's brink, and plunged into the water, wading with main strength through the stream, and followed by thick and close battalions. The opposite bank was soon gained; and already the soldiers were busy reconstructing the gallery over the broken arch; another party were adjusting their bridge of boats; while numerous battalions pushed rapidly through the river.

All this was but the work of a few minutes; and the business was almost complete before the Irish were up and at their guns. At length their batteries began to fire, but unsteadily, and with little effect. The British were already passing the bridge, and pouring into the town: the bank was gained, the pontoons were arranged; there was no battle, no contest.

The Irish regiments in the town had just time to retreat, some with their arms, and some without them, few with their clothes on. Many were taken asleep upon the ramparts, and in

various parts of the town; and it is recorded of Ginckle's army, as a remarkable and unusual instance of humanity, that they did not kill the sleeping men. The writer who records this instance of uncommon forbearance, complains, however, of the oaths and horrible imprecations which the soldiers bestowed upon the town as they stumbled over the masses of ruins, of which it was now composed.

There was, in fact, no longer any town: houses, castles, towers, every thing within the walls, and much of the walls themselves, were reduced to ashes, and burnt up by the weight of fire poured upon them by the British artillery. All that Ginckle had achieved was the passage of the river; but this was every thing. A small supply of provisions was found in the town, and three or four officers and sixty men were taken prisoners.

The first express that reached St. Ruth, of the British passing the river, found him dressing for a shooting excursion. The Frenchman would not believe the story. He is reported to have said, that "It was impossible that the English should attempt the passage while he lay so near with his army." But this saying, if St. Ruth was ever guilty of such coxcombry, must have been of an earlier date; for the British had given him ample proof of a very serious intention to pass the river previous to this.

While he doubted, or affected to doubt, other couriers arrived, whose report was confirmed by the sound of cannon and musketry. The delay, short as it was, had been fatal. The troops were now ordered under arms. The drums beat, and the trumpets sounded to horse; and in a short time some regiments were on their march towards the town. They were in time to check the progress of the British corps that had followed the disorderly garrison in their retreat. The pursuit was given up. The British drew back into the town, and the Irish returned to their camp.

Athlone had been carried by surprise. St. Ruth was now deeply sensible of the folly he had been guilty of, in not having more carefully provided for its defence. If common attention had been paid to this important post, it could not have been taken. Ginckle would have been forced to retreat; the British frontier would have been every where beaten in; and with such a vast body of irregulars at St. Ruth commanded, supported by a successful army, the result of the campaign would have been decidedly in his favour, without the risk of battle.

The Irish officers saw the error that had been committed, and which was the less excusable, as they had given the general notice of what was likely to happen. They felt that they were

sacrificed to the levity of a vain foreigner, who had been placed in a command over them, to which he had no claim. They had done their duty; never was fortress more ably or bravely defended; and the successes they had won, the fruit of their blood and labour, had been thrown away, as things of no value, by the pampered minion of a foreign court; whose sole concern in the war was his pay or his paltry reputation, while they were contending for the estates of their ancestors, their lives, and native land. These were the bitter reflections of the Irish officers, after the disaster at Athlone, as we find in the letters of some of them.

CHAP. XII.

BATTLE OF AUGHRIM.

St. Ruth, notwithstanding the coxcombry of his character, was too much a man of talent not to profit by the lesson which he had been taught at Athlone. He had come to Ireland with an opinion of his own superiority over all William's officers, and a notion that it was felt and acknowledged by them. He had an equal contempt for the Irish troops as for the British officers. He had taken up the idea, then, and long after prevalent, that, though capable of being transformed into good troops upon the Continent, the Irish were, in their own country, and under their own officers, the worst military in Europe. Like his countryman Voltaire, who repeats the same notion, he did not trouble himself to inquire into the causes of such a phenomenon; he was satisfied to assume the fact.

But the defence of Athlone made him suspect that he might be mistaken. He saw that the Irish had done their duty, and that he had not done his. He had been in the habit of

treating his soldiers not only with open and undisguised contempt, but with great cruelty. He hanged them in multitudes, and for the slightest offences; and numbers deserted to their homes in consequence of his severity. He carried himself to his superior officers with a cold and supercilious courtesy; and those of inferior rank were subjects of his ridicule and amusement.

All this was changed at once by the event at Athlone. He felt that, instead of the high superiority he imagined himself to enjoy over his own officers and the enemy's, he had become the object of ridicule to both armies. His manner towards his officers and soldiers underwent an almost instantaneous alteration. He courted a friendly and familiar intercourse with the former, was condescending and polite to his generals, and affected the gay good humour with the men which he knew to be so acceptable to the Irish. The day after the taking of Athlone, July 1. 1691, he broke up from camp, and marched westward towards Ballinasloe.

If the conduct of St. Ruth was changed, so was that of Ginckle also in a considerable degree. The change in both generals was somewhat of the same character, and derived very much from the same source. Ginckle had succeeded at Athlone; but the defence made by that town alarmed him. He was aware that his

success was accidental, and had been owing entirely to the folly of St. Ruth. He had touched the very point of ruin; and his escape did not prevent his feeling the utmost anxiety for the issue of the campaign. If St. Ruth had suffered from treating his army with haughtiness, Gincle had exposed himself to the most serious dangers, in consequence of the outrage and violence which his troops were permitted to practise upon the peaceable inhabitants of the country. The conduct of William's soldiery surpassed every thing in enormity which was usual in the conflicts of Christian nations; and was only better than that of the Cromwellians in the former war. William himself was aware how injurious it was to his cause, but found it impossible to apply a remedy, dependent as he was upon the army of foreign mercenaries which he commanded in Ireland, and having so little hold of the English people. He knew that his foreign troops would not fight under his standard upon the terms of strict discipline; and he soon perceived, that in England he was no more than the instrument of a powerful party, who had made use of him to drive out James, but never intended to raise him to the situation of master over themselves. William was king under the Whigs in England; as he was stadtholder over the Dutch in Holland.

He had less hold of the Tories. Instead of kneeling down and worshiping the new idol that occupied the shrine of monarchy, as was expected, upon the mere principle of occupancy, and without inquiring how the idol got there, they became unluckily squeamish upon the point of title; and the king fell helplessly into the hands of any party that would give him a momentary and uncertain support.

William had been induced to listen to the representations of his ministers and officers, that the Irish were a contemptible enemy, and easily subdued in the field. But the battle of the Boyne had led him to doubt the accuracy of this opinion; and the siege of Limerick, and the two sieges of Athlone, had now fully convinced him that, if this reproach upon the Irish military had at any time a colour of truth, the progress of the war had nearly or entirely effaced it. The Irish were but raw recruits at the opening of the campaign under Schomberg, and they had profited alarmingly by the lessons which their Dutch tutors, and William himself, had bestowed upon them.

Unlike all former wars in Ireland, the population did not appear to wear out under the waste of the campaigns of the revolution. In the wars of Elizabeth's reign, the population had been greatly diminished. Under Cromwell, it had almost been swept away, and the country

reduced to a desert. In the former wars, a system of depopulation was partially acted upon; in the latter, it was systematically adopted, and executed with great vigour and perseverance. Under William, no system of any kind upon this head was resorted to; but his soldiers killed and wasted without any effectual check or control; and yet the Rapparies rose round them like a swelling tide; and the Irish regular army was every day adding to its numbers.

Whether this was owing to the potatoe, which about this time was spreading into cultivation, and afforded the people and their cattle an abundance of food, almost beyond the power of the enemy to destroy, may be worth inquiry. The potatoe field cannot be so easily wasted as the corn field; nor when out of the ground is the root destroyed with so much facility. The lighted torch applied to the growing corn, or the haggart, produces instantaneous destruction; and we know that, in the Cromwellian wars, Coote, Inshiquin, and the other parliamentarian officers, applied it invariably to the corn and hay, and all combustible food of man or beast.

Cattle, too, are liable to rapid destruction, and were slaughtered in multitudes by the Cromwellian commanders. But the increase of potatoe cultivation seems to have afforded

the Irish a security against that species of starvation, which is the instantaneous effect of design.

The Irish were, however, still, as they had been from the remotest times, essentially a pastoral people; living upon the milk and flesh of animals. Throughout the whole period of William's war, there seems to have been the greatest abundance of cattle; and, indeed, of food of every kind. Vast herds of black cattle, and flocks of sheep, without owners, covered the sweet and succulent pastures of Ireland. They roamed at large, and whether the property of any proprietor or not, the military, wherever they marched, drove them away in thousands.

We know that in a few years after the depopulation of the country by the Cromwellians, sheep and cattle of all kinds multiplied to such a degree that they became a nuisance; and when men began again to spread over the land, they were obliged to kill the cattle, that they might have some space for the cultivation of corn.

The great abundance of food during William's wars had its usual effect; and, notwithstanding the waste of the campaigns, the population was increasing. This was a great advantage which the Irish had over the British army. They easily recruited their numbers; and every musket the French king thought proper to furnish

could find a man. William's army, on the contrary, wore out rapidly. Fighting, and fatigue, and sickness, and their own vices, did execution upon them every day. During the siege of Athlone, Gincle had earnestly pressed for reinforcements; and the very day of his success some regiments of guards landed in Dublin, and proceeded by rapid marches to join the camp. These were followed by another kind of reinforcements, always powerful in war, several waggon-loads of sterling money.

Ginckle did not venture to quit Athlone till he had repaired the works, and put them into a good condition. This was easily done with respect to that part of the defences of the town which faced the west, and looked to the Irish camp. From its position, it had escaped the fire of the British. The army continued to labour at the works day and night for some time, Ginckle contenting himself with sending out strong parties to reconnoitre. The accounts from the Irish army stated them to be still at Ballinasloe, and resolved upon giving battle.

The king heard of the obstinate defence of Athlone with alarm. The narrow escape of his army from destruction before that town, showed him that the war in Ireland was rapidly assuming a very serious character.

The urgency of the case, as well as the exhausted state of his finances, and other embar-

rassments, compelled William to emancipate himself at once from the dominion of the council, the commissioners of forfeitures, and all the military and official expectants of Irish estates. Ginckle was ordered, in the most peremptory manner, to repress those outrages of the troops which were a source of strength to the enemy, by forcing the peasants from their homes, and leaving them no resource or safety but in the ranks of the soldiery, regular or irregular; and which also greatly increased the expenses of the war, by forcing him to supply the army in a great part with food imported from England, though quartered in a country where food of every kind was much more abundant and cheap.

Ginckle felt as deeply as the king the necessity, in the present emergency, of a total change of conduct towards the Irish. He issued orders to the army, that any soldier or officer committing any robbery or other violence upon the Irish, having British protections, should suffer death: and he had it widely circulated through the country, that the people might for the future rely upon the strict observance of their protections.

These orders of the general-in-chief were followed by a proclamation from the lords justices; issued, as it states, by the "special direction and command of their majesties." The

proclamation states the great success which had attended their majesties' arms, and their anxious desire to put an end to the further effusion of blood in Ireland. It contrasts the mild and paternal government of the king and queen with "the tyranny of France," and then treats of the great points at issue between the Irish and the king's government — religion, property, and rank.

With respect to the first, the king promises that his Irish subjects shall enjoy the utmost "quiet and tranquillity;" and that, on the first meeting of parliament, "their majesties will endeavour to procure for them such further security in these particulars as may preserve them from any disturbance upon account of their religion." Upon the great point of property, the king engages explicitly, "that all those who shall, within three weeks from the issuing of the proclamation, submit to their majesties' government, shall be restored to their estates without reserve or delay, and their possession confirmed and secured."

And further, "that all those enjoying rank or dignity in the service of the late King James shall be continued in the same rank or employment, or *advanced to higher posts.*"

Having stated these important particulars, the proclamation goes on to call upon the Irish people "seriously to recollect into their minds

and memory the quiet and blessed estate and security which they enjoyed under the British government, and the vast difference between that and the tyranny of France."

This proclamation, says the annalist of these transactions, "made a great noise both in the enemy's camp, as also all the kingdom over, during the remainder of the campaign, being that upon which the articles of Galway and Limerick, and all the Irish capitulations, were afterwards founded."

This observation is correct: for the articles of Limerick use the very words of the proclamation, and add others more specific and distinct. The proclamation is dated the 7th of July, about a week subsequent to the taking of Athlone, and must therefore have been prepared by the king before he was acquainted, or immediately upon his being acquainted, with the surprise of that town.

It will be observed, that in this proclamation William promises the Catholics who enjoyed high places in the state under James, that they should be continued in the same rank or employment, or advanced to "higher posts." There was, in fact, no question whatever as to the *eligibility* of Catholics to the highest offices in Ireland. They sat in both houses of parliament; and there was no law to exclude them from any situation of trust or profit. If

there had been any law to prevent their holding the offices the king promised them, his promise would have been absurd; but it was well known that there was at that time no such law. The oath of supremacy was sometimes tendered to persons holding offices, and to members of parliament, and sometimes it was required that they should take the sacrament according to the ceremonial of the church of England; but Protestants only were held subject to these tests.

When the king promised the Catholics "quiet and tranquillity," and the security of an act of parliament against any "disturbance" in the article of religion, he did not intend a law making them eligible to office; for the proclamation itself proves, that he considered them eligible already. He intended no more than that they should be secured against any annoyance upon the question of *recusancy*, or non-attendance upon the church-service. Recusants or persons refusing to attend, or absenting themselves from church-service, were liable to small fines, and subject to several petty vexations. There were laws, too, which were occasionally enforced against the celebration of the service of the church of Rome, which occasioned great *disturbance* to the Catholics. It was to this description of laws that William referred; there was then no question of eligibility. Catholics, though under Cromwell and under William they were de-

prived of every situation of trust and honour in Ireland, were still eligible to all. In times of violence, parliament sometimes, *by a vote of the House*, required their members to take the oath of supremacy, or to take the sacrament; but no law existed on the subject until long after the peace of Limerick.

The proclamation spread grief and consternation amongst all the official speculators and expectants in Ireland, especially amongst those who had appropriated to themselves in imagination, and some of them, in fact, the estates of the Irish gentry in James's army.

James's officers were of the noblest blood, and most ancient families in Ireland. They were mostly of old English descent; a few were of noble Irish families. There was great reluctance upon the part of the new possessors of office to share the profits or dignities of station with men who would be likely to throw them in the shade. But it was with still greater reluctance that the expectants of forfeited lands could be brought to surrender their anticipated possessions. Many had already possessed themselves of the property of James's officers lying within the English frontier, in the hope of obtaining or extorting a grant at a future period, or expecting, in the confusion of the times, to keep possession without account.

All these persons set themselves eagerly to work, to counteract the effect of the king's proclamation. Reports were spread that the proclamation was a mere delusion; that the king, if he had the inclination, had not the power to enforce its observance; that it was well known that the protections granted to the Irish by General Ginckle, and by the king himself when in Ireland, had rather been a trap than a security to them; that the king may stipulate what he pleased, but that an Irish parliament would not be tied up by his proclamations.

These commentaries upon the proclamation, circulated by the Castle party in Ireland had their effect; and they were further enforced by the arguments of the French party, both concurring at that time in one object, as they have frequently done since. The French also urged the fact of the notorious and uniform violation of the protections to which the king's faith was pledged: they referred to the circumstance of his total want of power in England to carry any measure of his own, or to secure its observance; and to the facility with which he permitted his faith and honour, when pledged, to be violated and disregarded, when it suited his convenience.

They remarked the late period at which the proclamation had appeared, and the evident reluctance with which it was put forth. Not upon

the king's arrival in Ireland, which was the proper season for explanation and negotiation; not after the battle of the Boyne, when the advantage he obtained gave him another opportunity; but after the failure of Douglas before Athlone, and his own failure before Limerick, and after the second siege of the former town, which, though it had fallen into the hands of the enemy by surprise, ought to be considered as a victory for the Irish.

They argued from the whole case, that the proclamation was to be taken as no more than an indication of the king's fears; that it was a triumph for the Irish which their success in so many sieges had extorted. But that on the part of the enemy, it was a mere manœuvre to break their strength, and sow disunion amongst them.

The arguments of the Castle party and the French party prevailed (for there was some truth and justice in them) to prevent the proclamation from having at this period any considerable effect.

The Irish officers were anxious to try another battle; they had been taunted with their ill success at the Boyne. They were themselves, however, persuaded, that they had the advantage of the fight on that occasion, though they lost the battle. They were well satisfied with the conduct of their men, and in their own language

were impatient to "fight the battle over again," if it were only for the honour of the country.

St. Ruth represented to them strongly the necessity of wiping away the slur which had rested so long, in common report, upon the military character of the country, when tried upon their own ground. He reminded them, that if they now made terms with William, it would be said all over Europe that they were afraid to risk a battle with the English. What then would be thought of their boast that they were ready to fight the Boyne field over again? It was impossible to resist such an appeal, and it was accordingly determined to fight another battle.

It was true that the Irish longed to rid themselves of their French allies. But a victory over the British army would probably have quitted scores with both nations. Ginckle's army was shaken by the long struggle at Athlone, and notwithstanding his late reinforcements, the effects of that struggle were still felt. His army comprised almost the whole British force in Ireland; and if beaten, the war may be considered at an end; and the Irish would then be strong enough to shake off their French acquaintances.

Ginckle had waited anxiously the effect of the proclamation. He soon saw that it had been delayed too long; and that another battle must

be fought and won before the Irish would listen to it. He prepared for the conflict with much anxiety. On the other side St. Ruth was not less anxious and uneasy. He had performed no brilliant action since his arrival in Ireland; and the only affair of consequence which had occurred he had lost by his own error, and the grossest mismanagement. He had now to recover his lost fame, and make some atonement to the Irish people for the injury they had sustained through his neglect.

He had chosen his position with great skill. His camp extended more than two miles along a range of hills called the heights of Kilcomoden. His right was protected by a rivulet and by hills and marshes: on his left was a deep glen; and beyond this, and throughout his whole front, a vast bog extended, in most places impassable for horse or foot. On the borders of the bog, on the left, stood the little ruinous castle of Aughrim, occupying the only spot of firm ground which led to the camp.

To pass the bog at this point it was necessary to go close by the castle-wall, where there was a broken path nearly wide enough to admit two men abreast. The passage on the right was more open, but it was marshy and unsafe.

This position was even stronger than that of the Boyne. At the Boyne also the Irish were inferior in numbers to the British army by some

thousands, as well as in the essential point of artillery. In the latter particular, they were even more inferior to the British at Aughrim than they had been at the Boyne, but they were superior by some regiments in number of troops. It was remarkable that throughout the whole war the British had used a most overwhelming force of artillery.

Ginckle now learned that the Irish had taken their ground upon the field of Aughrim; and he prepared to move forward. From his position at Athlone he had used the greatest industry in circulating the king's proclamation. He had agents in every direction, and even in the Irish camp he had several. He was not less active in his military preparations. He had already weakened his posts and garrisons in almost every part of Ireland to add to the strength of his army; and now again before moving from Athlone, he had drawn almost every soldier from every part of the kingdom.

The alarm in Dublin was extreme; and a deep dread and anxiety fell upon the Protestant inhabitants throughout all Ireland. The pause that preceded the battle of Aughrim was full of terror and apprehension. At length Ginckle having received great part of his expected reinforcements, moved forward with his whole force. But learning the position and strength of the enemy more accurately, he halted upon the river Suc; and encamped along the line of

that stream to wait the arrival of some further troops which were coming up.

St. Ruth had also drawn in his posts, and great part of his garrisons in every direction, to strengthen his force at Aughrim. Since the surprise at Athlone, he had taken all his measures with the wisdom and prudence of an able commander.

Ginckle had now received his last reinforcements upon the Suc: and both sides were prepared for the conflict that was to decide the fate of Ireland. The alarm of the Protestants in Dublin, and other places where the garrisons were withdrawn, proved to be without cause. No attempt was made to molest them. The noise and tumult of the various and irregular warfare which was waged throughout the country had suddenly ceased. The skirmishings, the surprises, the *preyings*, — all had stopped; and the attention of every party and of every individual was fixed intensely upon the pending events in the county of Roscommon.

Ginckle broke up from the Suc, and marched towards Aughrim. As he moved forward St. Ruth addressed a speech or proclamation to his army, which is a curious specimen of the French style of that period. He set out with a detail of his own extraordinary merits and achievements in former wars against heresy and heretics. He adverts slightly to the disaster at Athlone, and

points out the present moment as the auspicious time granted to the Irish for the vindication of their honour, and the re-establishment of their fortune; and he winds up his discourse by setting before them the motives that made it indispensable to conquer or die.

The devout of both communions throughout the kingdom addressed themselves fervently to the Being who gives victory or defeat according to his pleasure, proving by many an awful lesson, the truth of his own declaration, that "the battle is not always to the strong." The Irish, with all their constitutional gaiety, are a devout people; as are, perhaps, most people who possess much of feeling.

The Irish army on this occasion, like the nation, were devout. Ginckle's soldiery had no sympathy with the Protestant population: they were profane. "If," says a writer who was with the army at this time, "if when our armies go out to defy our enemies, and yet, at the same time, in their practice, defy the living God, how can we expect that God will hear us when we pray for them?" Yet it was to this army who "defied the living God" that God gave the victory; and in a manner so remarkable, that none could doubt whence the victory came.

On the morning of the 12th of July the British halted on the borders of the bog, that, like a great belt, encircled the Irish position. The

morning was foggy, and did not clear up till towards twelve o'clock. Meantime the Irish prepared for battle, by hearing divine service performed at the head of their regiments. Dr. Stafford, and some other clergymen, afterwards passed through the ranks, setting before the men their duty and obligation, as soldiers and as Irishmen, to rescue their country from the oppression of the Prince of Orange and his army of foreigners. Stafford bore a high character as a man of worth, learning, and piety. He was exceedingly zealous in what he believed to be the cause of his country; and his exhortations to the troops produced that day, we are told, a powerful effect. He was chaplain to the royal regiment of foot, and accompanied the soldiers into the thickest of the fight, where he was slain exhorting them to heroic actions.

Much ridicule was lavished shortly after upon this Irish mode of commencing a battle. But we do not see why, even upon the occasion of a battle, an appeal may not be made to the best feelings of human nature as well as the worst. The appeal of the Irish army was the high and solemn one of "God and our country." Ginckle appealed to the avarice and wickedness of his foreign soldiers. As at Athlone, he gave them money, and promised them plunder. Ginckle was too able a man, and too deeply anxious for the event of the battle, not to speak to his

soldiers of "God and of country," if he believed they valued either. The Irish did not behave the worse for their prayers, nor Ginckle's soldiers much worse for their wickedness. The bold spirit of a courageous profligacy, familiarised with danger, and hardened in evil, sustains the courage of an army, while it continues victorious, perhaps as well as high sentiments of honour, or a sense of duty.

As the day cleared up the British army was put in motion; and a strong column was pushed forward against the enemy's right. It advanced by the house and grounds of Urachree, which stood a little in front of the right of the Irish army, and was occupied by some horse. A strong detachment of Danish cavalry led the column. The Danes moved forward boldly, quickening their pace as they approached the Irish, and preparing to charge. The Irish horse, who were standing in column, sounded a charge. The Danes checked their speed for an instant, and seeing the enemy come on at full gallop, they wheeled about and rode off in disorder.

Ginckle had observed what passed, and immediately ordered two hundred of Cunningham's dragoons, which were considered the best cavalry in the army, to advance and repair this mischief. The British dragoons advanced at a trot, but perceiving that the Irish did not quit their position, they halted within a short distance,

and took post behind a hedge, to wait the coming up of their infantry. When the leading battalion of foot arrived within a short distance, the cavalry were again ordered to advance upon the post at Urachree. The Irish horse now fell back till they reached a little hill in their rear, where a body of infantry was posted. Here they faced to the front, and charged and broke the British dragoons, who retreated, as the Danes had done, in confusion.

Eppinger's dragoons were ordered up to support Cunningham's. The Irish horse also had by this time received reinforcements; and, after a sanguinary struggle, Eppinger's and Cunningham's dragoons were both again put to the route, and driven off the field. But it was necessary to force the pass of Urachree, and Ginckle ordered Lord Portland's horse to the charge, supported by all those who had already tried their strength with the Irish. When this new column of cavalry was ready to advance, it was found that the detachment at Urachree were withdrawn, and had taken a new position upon the rivulet, which divided the post of Urachree from the pass by which the right wing of the Irish was to be approached. Here they were drawn up, and seemed to wait the approach of the British cavalry. The Earl of Portland's horse, after having advanced a little, and seeing the difficulty of the ground, hesitated, and the

whole column came to a halt. Finally they wheeled about, and fell back upon the infantry.

The spirited resistance of the small body of Irish cavalry at this post alarmed the British generals, and spread some confusion in the left wing of the army. The whole left wing were ordered to halt; and Ginckle, whose mind, ordinarily very sedate and firm, was shaken by the outset of his attack, called a council of war to determine what was to be done.

The sample they had witnessed of the enemies' spirit, his formidable position, and numerous force, all contributed to fill the council with gloom and perplexity. After much discussion, the obvious conclusion was come to, that the battle must, at all risks, be fought. The next question was, whether, after the check they had sustained, they should press the attack that evening, or postpone the decisive struggle till morning; it was now near four o'clock. Upon this point there was much division and hesitation in the council; the perplexity was extreme; it was first decided to draw off and postpone the battle till the morning, and the tents were sent for, and dispositions made for the night; after this was done, the council was not satisfied. There was an impatience of the delay, and an anxiety for the event, be it what it might, such as is natural to men who having a desperate and doubtful task to undergo, rush eagerly to the

decision. The tents were again countermanded, and it was determined to bring the matter to an issüe that night at whatever risk.

It was half-past four in the evening when the British infantry marched over the ground which had already been so hotly disputed. The small bodies of Irish horse they met with fell back before the solid masses of infantry that now pressed bravely forward. The British cavalry did not show itself. The ground beyond the rivulet was intersected by a number of substantial hedges, all which were lined with Irish infantry, and in an open space in the rear were posted the detachment of horse that had already so much distinguished itself. The British infantry marched up to the hedges; and as they approached, received the fire of the enemy without flinching. They pushed boldly their muskets through the bushes, and returned the fire. The hedges serving as a rampart to both armies were long and obstinately contested; the soldiers on both sides resting their muskets upon them, and keeping up an incessant fire.

The Irish had prepared passes of communication between the hedges, and frequently retired from a position they had obstinately defended in order to lead the enemy into ambuscade. When the British followed, they found

themselves taken in flank or rear, and exposed to a destructive fire.

The contest had begun at this point with the skirmishers of the Irish army supported by strong corps of infantry; but as the British poured battalion after battalion to the attack, St. Ruth found it necessary to move some bodies of horse and foot from his left to the support of his right wing. This movement had been foreseen by the British general, and he was prepared to profit by it. While the Irish regiments were marching from left to right, Ginckle gave orders that several battalions of infantry should cross the bog, and attack the centre of the Irish army.

At this point there was a path across the bog, or rather a line known only to the peasantry of the country, where the mud and water, not being very deep, permitted the bog to be forded. Ginckle, with much difficulty, had found a peasant who for a large sum of money discovered the secret of this passage. The passage traversed the bog at its narrowest point; the hill of Kilcomoden having, as it were, run its sloping fields and hedges far into the marsh at this place.

Four regiments, Herbert's, Earl's, Creighton's, and Brewer's, were ordered to cross the bog and make their way to the nearest hedges

on the sloping ground, and post themselves there till the horse, which were to attempt the passage by Aughrim castle, could come round to their support.

The soldiers crossed the bog unmolested, except by the difficulties of the passage; but these were very great. The men made their way with extreme labour and effort, wading sometimes to their middles in mud and mire too soft to afford firm footing, and too solid to permit the feet to be disengaged without much difficulty.

At length they were approaching firmer ground, when the Irish drew down towards the edge of the bog, and received them with a steady fire. The British continued to advance without firing a shot until they reached the sloping meadows of Kilcomoden. The Irish withdrew, and took post behind the hedges. Here, as upon the right of their position, they had the advantage of closely enclosed grounds, with strong hedges, which they had lined with infantry.

The British, after they had passed the bog, seduced by the retreat of the enemy, and wishing to avenge the galling fire they had sustained in passing, followed them briskly. The Irish fired from their hedges with great effect, but made no effort to maintain them: they retired from hedge to hedge as the British pressed for-

ward, offering only a sufficient resistance to excite the ardour of their pursuers.

Amongst the intricacies of those hedges the Irish had managed to have easy communications, not only for their infantry but for their cavalry; and their retreat was conducted with the precision of a parade movement. The British had forgotten their orders to halt at the first hedge; till the admirable order of the enemy and their increasing numbers forced the conviction upon the minds of the officers, that the retreat was a preconcerted movement. When this thought occurred to the commanders of regiments they halted to examine their position. The ground they had passed was difficult and full of dangerous intersections; in the rear was the bog, impassable, except with great management and caution; before them were the heights of Kilcomoden, and the enemy in battle-array, and upon both flanks the same enemy were crowding down to intercept their retreat.

Colonel Earl looked anxiously to the right, to observe if there were sound or sight of the British horse, whose support they had been directed to wait for. But, though the time when it was calculated they would reach the centre had passed, there was no intimation that they had yet even attempted the dangerous post of Aughrim. No sound of trumpet, or tramp of cavalry, or dust, or shout of battle, could be heard

upon the right; all was still in that quarter; and on the left, the noise of the combat, instead of approaching them, seemed to recede, as if the advance of the British columns had been checked or thrown back. It seemed as if the centre division were cut off and abandoned to its fate.

Colonel Earl, in this emergency, advanced before his regiment, and called to his men, that "there was no hope of safety but in being brave; that retreat would be destruction; and that their only resource was to maintain their position till they were relieved."

When the Irish saw that the enemy could not be tempted to advance further, they prepared for the attack, and poured down through the passages of the hedges by which they had retreated. The British might have defended those hedges as the Irish had done; but the soldiers saw that they would be taken in flank and rear, and observing a large body of cavalry descending the hill they were seized with panic. On the first shock of the Irish infantry they broke and fled in all directions.

They were pursued with great slaughter; the Irish cavalry pouring through the openings in the hedges that had been prepared for them, while the fugitives struggled to make their way over them. At length they arrived upon the edge of the bog, and stood exposed to the attack

of infantry and cavalry, the whole division in a confused mass, and hardly attempting resistance. The officers made some effort to form their regiments, but they were charged by the cavalry, and again broke and scattered, and driven into the morass.

They were followed into the bog by the Irish infantry, better acquainted with the ground, and accustomed to traverse this kind of soil. No longer able to select a passage, the soldiers were driven into the deepest and most difficult parts of the bog, and a great slaughter ensued. The British artillery was planted on the verge of the morass, but could be of no service against the enemy, as they were mingled with the fugitives. Colonel Earl and Colonel Herbert, and a great number of officers, were taken prisoners. The remnant of the British were driven completely across the bog to the muzzles of their own cannon.

While this was passing at the centre, another division of Ginckle's army, consisting of English and French infantry, were crossing the bog by a passage nearer to the right. This division, like the first, met with no opposition in passing, nor were they sensible of the presence of an enemy until they arrived at the hedges that skirted the firm ground on the edge of the morass. Here the Irish showed themselves, fired, and retreated; but this division, more cautious

than the former, could not be tempted to pursue. They had received volley after volley, and still contented themselves with maintaining their ground, without being able to return the fire with any effect. Like the former division, they were looking anxiously for the British horse, but could only see the Irish cavalry assembling in large masses, and preparing to charge them; while the infantry were leaving the cover of the hedges, and forming to support the charge.

Hitherto the Irish had been victorious at every point. In the obstinate conflict of their right with the British left, they had repeatedly repulsed and driven back the enemy; and though he continued to renew his attacks, he had as yet met with no success. The main attack upon which Ginckle depended was that of the centre, composed of the flower of the British infantry. They had done their duty nobly, but the attack had failed, and the division was almost annihilated.

The second division, which had passed the bog, now stood in a perilous position, and in danger of being utterly destroyed. At this moment a tumult was heard on the left wing of the Irish: it was from that quarter that the British division expected relief. The Irish knew that the fate of the battle depended upon the passage at Aughrim. They suspended their attack upon the division before them for an instant,

to catch the events on the left; but nothing could be learned more than what was announced by the smoke and rapid discharges of musketry and artillery. It was certain that the interest of the battle was now in that quarter.

St. Ruth had directed the operations of the engagement with as much skill as he had planned them. He had taken his position on a point of the hill whence he had a complete view of the field of battle. From the commencement of the action he had expressed the warmest approbation of the conduct of the Irish troops. He had beheld with astonishment the daring progress of the British infantry across the bog, and marked their resolute attack upon his centre with dread and admiration; and when at length they were routed, and almost destroyed, he exclaimed, in the full confidence of victory, "Now I will drive the English to the walls of Dublin."

He did not speak lightly. The strength of the British lay in their infantry; and the flower of that infantry was cut down in the four regiments which had nearly perished. Ginckle had no longer any Dutch infantry. William, who always kept these troops near his person, had taken them with him to the Continent; the rest were chiefly foreigners. In cavalry the Irish were stronger both in number and quality of the troops; in artillery the English had a great superiority; but St. Ruth's position deprived

them of this advantage. Their cannon could not cross the bog; and though their shot told upon the hill of Kilcomoden, they could not bring their fire to bear upon the foot of the hill, where the brunt of the battle was fought, their own infantry being interposed. St. Ruth had, therefore, good reason to expect a favourable issue of the combat.

The fate of the battle now depended on the struggle at Aughrim. On the left the English had failed to make good their passage; in the centre they were beaten. Talmash, general of cavalry, and a man remarkable for a daring courage, saw that all was lost unless a desperate effort were made to restore the battle. He commanded the squadron of horse to which the severe task was intrusted of forcing the passage by the castle of Aughrim.

The pass at Aughrim did not admit more than two horse abreast, keeping as close as possible to the castle-wall. St. Ruth had seen it; but thought it impassable for cavalry. He might easily have made it so, if he had not again fallen into an error similar to that he had so deliberately committed at Athlone, in considering that to be impossible which was, nevertheless, accomplished by British troops. He had, however, taken the precaution to erect a battery, which commanded the pass. Through the fire of this battery and of some battalions of infantry

Talmash was now making his way, at the head of the British horse. The pass was not only narrow, but broken, and encumbered with the rubbish of the castle-wall.

St. Ruth beheld the attempt of the cavalry with astonishment; but could not comprehend what it meant. He asked his French officers, but they could not explain the movement. His Irish officers, better acquainted with what British troops could do, replied, that the cavalry were forcing their way to the support of the infantry in the centre. "They are brave fellows," said St. Ruth; "it is a pity they should be so exposed." Saying this, he sent orders to the Irish horse to move forward, and prepare to charge the British cavalry; and proceeded himself down the hill, at the head of his officers, to direct the gunners at the battery how to point their fire.

The battle rested upon the charge of cavalry that had been ordered; and there is little reason to doubt what the result would have been if it had been made. The English cavalry, though a considerable body had passed the castle, were still not half the number of the squadrons that were moving against them. They were also in great disorder from the desperate and perilous effort they had made, and had suffered not a little from the fire of the battery through which they passed. Added to this, William's cavalry

had never stood the charge of the Irish, even where the numbers were equal. St. Ruth admired the gallantry of Talmash and his horse, but he knew that they were lost men.

And they were so, no doubt, if he had not been lost himself. He had reached the battery, and was giving directions to the gunner how to point his guns, when he was struck by a cannon-ball and killed. He stood in the midst of a crowd, and no man was hurt but himself. His death was instantaneous. There was but this one man of the many thousands who swarmed that day upon the hill of Kilcomoden whose death could have saved the British army; and he was slain. The event, if it was mere chance, was a remarkable one. An aide-de-camp threw a cloak over St. Ruth's body, and it was conveyed up the hill, and carried to the rear.

The news of some extraordinary calamity having happened spread rapidly through the Irish army. The fire from the battery where St. Ruth had been killed was discontinued; considerable confusion prevailed, without its being known distinctly what had occurred; the horse had moved forward to the spot where they were to receive the order to charge, and drew up and waited, but no order came; other bodies of cavalry that were advancing to support them, seeing they did not move, halted also. Talmash, who had been preparing to receive their charge,

saw that something was wrong, and took instant advantage of it, Glad to escape from the encounter of the cavalry, he pushed towards the centre, where the battle had been suspended. His appearance upon that ground was taken by both British and Irish as a signal of victory. It was the natural conclusion, though a false one. They considered, no doubt, that he had fought and conquered his way; and could not know that his arrival there was only one of those chances of battle, that baffle all human calculation.

The infantry of the centre had caught some confused reports of a great calamity having happened on the left; and the appearance of Talmash made them conclude naturally enough that their left had been forced and beaten. Under this impression they fell back. Talmash called to the British infantry to advance. The column that was still unbroken on the edge of the bog moved forward and restored the battle. The soldiers of the centre division that had been dispersed were collected, and again crossed the bog. These were supported by several new battalions, which were now pushed across the morass.

The Irish infantry continued to retreat, disputing bravely every inch of ground; but there was now no hope of restoring the battle. No one had assumed the command on the death of St. Ruth. The cavalry were still without orders;

and at length were compelled to follow the general movement of the army, and retreat. They rode off the ground in despair and indignation; for the confusion that now prevailed seemed past all cure. As night came on, the retreat of the Irish became a route. The infantry had learned the death of St. Ruth; and believing that they were abandoned by the cavalry, always the right arm of their force, they thought no longer of resistance. The cavalry however halted on the summit of Kilcomoden, to cover the retreat. The night put an end to the pursuit.

The extraordinary circumstance of the Irish army being left totally without orders after the death of St. Ruth has never been explained. The command should have devolved upon Sarsefield; but none of the accounts of this battle tell us of his appearance; and it seems doubtful whether he was at all in the field. He had been upon bad terms with St. Ruth since that general's arrival; and the Frenchman's misconduct at Athlone had given occasion for the slumbering disgust which existed between them to break out into open animosity. St. Ruth had not consulted Sarsefield upon his order of battle. He did not invite him to the council of war; and when the order was settled, he did not send it to him. It is, therefore, very probable that Sarsefield had no command assigned him, and that he was not in the field. The

mere circumstance of his being unacquainted with the order of battle would, at the period of St. Ruth's death, have been no material disadvantage; for it was apparent that he had but to beat the British cavalry under Talmash, and the battle was won; and Sarsfield, if he had been on the ground, would not have failed to have led his cavalry to the charge. But the dissension of these two commanders was necessary to the overthrow of the Irish; without this, the death of St. Ruth might not have sufficed.

Up to the death of St. Ruth, the loss of the British, in killed and wounded, had been very severe: from this period their loss was trifling, and that of the Irish very great. The British counted over two thousand men killed and wounded, including seventy-three officers killed and one hundred and eleven wounded. The loss of the Irish was estimated by the British writers at seven thousand men, killed and wounded, including seventeen generals and colonels killed, and one hundred and four officers taken prisoners.

On the following day Ginckle encamped on the heights of Kilcomoden, and buried his dead. The slain of the Irish were left unburied on the field of battle, and were devoured by the wild dogs and the birds of prey. All the inhabitants of the country, for some miles around, had removed from the vicinity of the British army.

CHAP. XIII.

SIEGE OF GALWAY.

GINCKLE was more active after the battle of Aughrim than William had been after the Boyne.

Detachments were immediately sent to summon Loughrea, Melick, Portumna, Banaher, and other small posts, while the terrible impression of the decisive victory at Aughrim was fresh upon them. And it is remarkable that, after such a victory, Ginckle should have granted the terms he did to those small places. They all surrendered to the British general on condition of "security for person and property; the inhabitants and civil authorities to remain unmolested; and the garrisons to march out with arms and baggage, and to be at liberty to proceed to Limerick or where else they might choose."

The garrison of Banaher alone, consisting of sixty men, agreed to lay down their arms, and to return to their homes. They were marched into the British camp, where they deposited their arms, and were presented with five shillings each man by the British commander, and per-

mitted to disperse and return to their homes. This was done with some parade, and was intended as an inducement to the Irish to disband; but it is said to have had but little effect.

On the seventeenth of July, Ginckle marched from Kilcomoden to Athenree; which he found deserted by the inhabitants. They had quitted their homes, taking with them their cattle and all their effects, and retired to the mountains. The British commander was master in the field, but he ruled over a desert. He encamped in the neighbourhood of the deserted town; and proceeded himself at the head of a strong party to reconnoitre Galway, which was now the object of his movements.

The battle of Aughrim was far from inspiring William or his army with the confidence which they had felt at the outset of the Irish war. Every conflict they had maintained with the Irish since that of the Boyne was a harder and severer one. The Boyne was a doubtful victory; hardly won; the battle of Aughrim was an escape. The defence of Limerick had reflected honour upon the Irish arms; that of Athlone was never surpassed in history.

The victory at Aughrim was complete: the Irish were broken and routed, all but their cavalry; night only saved a remnant of their infantry. But it was a victory "by the visit-

ation of God," to use the language of the law in its solemn inquests. The history, indeed, of this campaign coincides remarkably with the whole history of the Irish wars for some centuries. It exhibits a series of providential interferences of a most extraordinary and remarkable nature; defeating the efforts of the brave, and baffling the wisdom of the prudent, whensoever an attempt was made to shake the connection with Great Britain.

It seemed as if a special providence watched over that connection: no valour, no talent, no virtue, no circumstance, on the part of the Irish who contended against it, could at any time avail; neither could any folly, wickedness, or imprudence, on the part of the British or their partisans, suffice entirely to sever it. Down to the period of the Revolution every event and occurrence seem wonderfully ordered and arranged with a view to the preservation of the union of the British islands; and when at length the working of that great change appeared to make the dissolution of the connection inevitable, we discern a chain of events as if linked by the hand of the Omnipotent, thrown in this emergency round the sister-islands, which no human force or power of circumstance could burst asunder.

The ancients were always anxious to attribute their successes to fortune, whose jealousy they dreaded; and we are told that an eminent com-

mander, who, in recounting his exploits, remarked upon each particular achievement that "fortune had no share in that," never afterwards prospered. The Irish, with more piety and truth, might be warranted in attributing their reverses to an over-ruling Providence; and in covering themselves, in their humiliation, with the glory of that Power whom nothing can resist.

The town of Galway was garrisoned by seven regiments of Irish, and a few French troops under the command of General D'Usson. The Irish regiments were neither strong nor well appointed, and had been thought unfit to take part in the contest at Aughrim. Balderick O'Donnel was said to be in the neighbourhood with some armed peasantry. This person had at one time enjoyed great credit with the lower classes of his countrymen. He had contrived to have *prophecies* circulated concerning himself, and the great achievements which he was destined to perform. He had been for some time in Spain, and was undoubtedly descended from a noble Irish family of great distinction. But he was a man of a class, of which many specimens have been seen in Ireland: he was a great boaster, suspected to be a coward, known to be a knave, noisy, insolent, presumptuous, and corrupt. He used his popularity to collect round him some thousands of the peasantry; and he employed the importance he derived from

this multitude of followers to betray their cause, and to sell himself at a better price to the British commander.

He had long been in correspondence with William and with Ginckle; and the information they drew from him from time to time made them stifle the disgust which the man's meanness and treachery excited. He was now treating for a title and a command in the army; while he was representing himself to his followers as an irreconcilable foe to British usurpation.

There was but a show of attack and defence upon the investment of Galway. Ginckle was anxious to grant the most favourable terms of capitulation that could be demanded; and the town and garrison were little disposed to incur the risk and suffering of a siege. Lord Dillon was governor, and was willing to treat with Ginckle; but D'Usson, the French commander, was opposed to any terms. Ginckle and the governor, however, entered into treaty, and hostages were exchanged until terms should be arranged. Some difficulties, notwithstanding, occurred, owing to the opposition of the French on the one side, and of General Talmash and his party on the other. This officer had been on all occasions opposed to granting favourable terms, or any terms at all, to the Irish, whenever the chances of war gave an advantage over them. Talmash was a mere soldier, and a very brave

one, and seemed to have a passion for war for its own sake. He was totally incapable of forming an opinion of the general interests of England or Ireland, or the policy most likely to be of advantage to the king. He knew only how to fight; and had become infected with the passion for confiscation, which could only be gratified by victory without treaty or terms.

But Ginckle had the most pressing and positive commands from the king to grant, in all cases, the most favourable terms that could be asked, and he resisted all the efforts of General Talmash to make him insist upon severe conditions.

Hostages were exchanged on both sides. The Irish hostages were Colonel Burke, Colonel Lynch, and Colonel O'Reilly. The British were the Marquess of Rhoda, Colonel Coote, and Colonel Purcell. The treaty had drawn into considerable length; and Ginckle, whose patience was exhausted, and whose apprehensions of ultimate failure of the negotiation were very lively, sent Colonel Burke into the town to endeavour to hasten the surrender. In his intercourse with Burke, in camp, he had found him sincerely desirous of a complete pacification of the kingdom, and a submission to William's government on just and honourable terms.

Talmash had also tried his skill in negotiation with Burke; his plan was to pique him into opposition, and to stimulate the military pride of

the Irish, at least into a demand of something extravagant, or beyond what he thought Ginckle could grant. "When you are about to begin at us again," said he to Burke, as he was leaving the camp, "fire a gun as a signal." Burke, who understood the character and object of this rough soldier, replied calmly, "that they would not fire from within till they were provoked from without." The Colonel was successful in arranging the articles, and they were signed in a few days.

The articles of Galway guaranteed "a pardon of all offences against the king and queen from the beginning of the war; security of property and estates; a confirmation of all offices and dignities in the town to the present possessors; freedom of religious worship and professional practice." The garrison was to march out of the town with arms and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, ball in cannon-mouth, and all the parade of war, and were to proceed to Limerick without interruption, and at their own rate of march; and were to be furnished by the British general with any number of draft-horses they might require for the transport of their cannon and baggage.

These were the conditions demanded by the Irish, and all were granted. They certainly do not bear the stamp of conditions imposed on a beaten enemy. The battle of Aughrim, like the

siege of Athlone, had only served to increase William's apprehensions. There was no longer any difficulty upon the point of forfeitures; that was quite given up. The appetite for confiscation had yielded to the serious peril of a continuance of the war. It will be seen by the articles that the holding of civil and corporate offices by Catholics was not at that time deemed inconsistent with any existing law, for otherwise the article securing to them the corporate dignities and situations which they then held would have been of no avail.

On Sunday, the 26th of July, the Irish marched out of the town, and it was surrendered to the British. From the signing of the articles there had been a friendly intercourse between the two armies. A guard of honour was assigned to Lieutenant-general D'Usson, to attend him and some other French officers to Limerick; and the garrison were furnished with six teams of draft-horses to convey their cannon. While these arrangements were making, a drum arrived from Limerick, with proposal for an exchange of prisoners. Ginckle, on the messenger being announced, imagined the proposal to be for a surrender of the city; and his disappointment was very severe when he learned the real nature of the message. He saw at once that the object was merely to ascertain what was going on at Galway.

After Ginckle had taken possession of Galway, a British squadron, of nine ships of war, and eighteen smaller vessels, arrived in the harbour. The General sent orders to the commodore to proceed, without casting anchor, to the Shannon, whither he was himself preparing to march.

About this time a French Protestant, of the the name of Du Pain, obtained letters patent from the king for establishing a joint-stock company for carrying on the linen manufacture in Ireland. Du Pain arrived in Dublin, with letters and recommendations to the nobility and officers of state, and a meeting was held at the mansion-house to consider his proposition. It was attended by the lords justices, the judges, the mayor and aldermen, the merchants, and most of the nobility and gentry in town. The project was warmly supported, and a great number of shares were taken.

Repeated efforts had been made since the time of Lord Strafford to fix this manufacture in Ireland; but it was a very long period before it took root and began to flourish. Strafford lost great sums in the attempt, as did almost all the early projectors who followed him. The ultimate success of the manufacture is, however, proof that very great national benefit may be derived from undertakings of this nature, however costly to the original projectors.

The revocation of the edict of Nantz, like the

infraction of the treaty of Limerick at a subsequent period, scattered a population of industrious traders from their homes. The former gave many useful citizens to Britain, the latter to France; but the French refugees were the more valuable. The greater portion of this precious seed of industry fell upon England, whose long and glorious season of prosperity for many ages received no blight; some sprinkling, however, fell upon Ireland also. Many of the French refugees settled in Ireland; and there were few that did not prosper, and contribute greatly to the improvement of their adopted country. Several engaged in the linen trade, others established the silk manufacture in Dublin, and many accumulated considerable wealth, and founded respectable families. The violation of the edict of Nantz might have been almost as beneficial to Great Britain as it was pernicious to France, if the account of mischief and bad faith had not been balanced by the infraction of the treaty of Limerick.

The news of the capitulation of Galway was received with great joy in England. It was considered, as no doubt it was, to be the effect of the victory at Aughrim; and it was immediately concluded that Limerick must follow the fate of Galway without delay. In full confidence of this result, and considering the war as substantially concluded, the queen ordered transports to pro-

ceed at once to Ireland, to take in ten thousand men of the Irish army, and proceed with them to Flanders, where the king then was waging an unequal warfare with France. Cork and Kinsale were the ports appointed for receiving this large deduction from the army in Ireland. Ginckle, however, was allowed a month's delay if he should see cause; — and he saw cause enough. He was by no means sanguine as to the surrender of Limerick by treaty, and he had still less hope of being able to take it by force.

The Irish army, notwithstanding its losses at Aughrim, was still more numerous than the British, though the inequality was now but small. Neither were the Irish so much discouraged by their defeat as yet to have lost all hope of trying fortune in another field. They could throw their disaster upon the accident of St. Ruth's death, and the awkward circumstances attending it. They were satisfied with their own conduct in the field, and this afforded ground for their French allies to work upon. The French were vehement in dissuading from any accommodation with the British government.

They continued to urge their old argument, drawn from the want of any thing which the Irish could rely upon, for the observance of any terms they might make with Ginckle or his master. And there was but too much weight in this argument.

It is the defect of a popular government that it is unsteady; and the vice of an oligarchy that it is often unprincipled. The British government was a compound of both. The government in Ireland was a simple oligarchy, and one of the worst that accident or fortune could have constructed. Its only connection with the people was in its hostility, and the injuries it inflicted upon them.

The question with the Irish now was, whether they would make peace with William upon the foundation of the proclamation, and the articles of Galway, or whether they would continue the war for the mere chance of becoming a French dependency? They required nothing beyond the articles of Galway. These secured to them all political privileges to which they were then eligible in Ireland, and no law then in force excluded them from any. They secured them in their estates and other possessions, and even guaranteed, under the new sovereign, the dignities and offices which they enjoyed under James; and they permitted the open and undisturbed exercise of the Catholic worship. More than this they could not desire.

The only question which could arise upon the eligibility of Catholics to offices under the crown was upon the construction of the Irish statute of the second of Elizabeth, cap. 1., which required bishops and certain civil officers, and

persons "receiving the queen's wages," to take the oath of supremacy. But the statute was obscurely worded; it did not extend to members of either house of parliament, and had rarely been acted upon in Ireland; neither did it make a person omitting to take the oath ineligible; it merely imposed a penalty upon his not taking it, provided it was the king's pleasure to require him to do so; but it seems to have been at the pleasure of the crown whether this oath should be required to be taken or not. The French urged strongly the purposes to which this statute might be converted; Ginckle, on his part, stated the king's intention that it should not be acted upon, and that on the first opportunity some legislative security should be obtained upon the point.

Ginckle's great object was to break the Irish by concession. He was willing to grant almost any terms; and he had his agents every where busily employed in promoting the disposition to negotiate.

The Irish were divided into two parties: one for negotiation, the other for war. The first were those who preferred British to French connexion, if fair terms could be had; the second maintained the opinion, that no terms which might be made with the British could be relied upon. This party had resolved, if the war should prove ultimately unsuccessful, to abandon

their country, and seek employment on the Continent, rather than trust to British faith. Sarsefield was at the head of the war-party in Ireland, and he succeeded for the present in preventing any accommodation.

Ginckle was afraid that another such victory as that of Aughrim, if he should win one, would be the destruction of his army; but an unsuccessful siege of Limerick might be even more fatal. The king had sustained severe reverses in Flanders, and whatever his losses might be, he could expect no further reinforcements; on the contrary, his majesty was impatient to transfer a large part of his Irish army to the continental war. Under this discouraging aspect of affairs, Ginckle commenced his march for Limerick, and he was even forced to leave an active and troublesome enemy in his rear, whom he could neither subdue nor persuade. This enemy was old Teague O'Regan, the resolute and comical governor of Charlemont.

Sir Teague was at the head of a small force near Sligo; and kept the field boldly, and baffled all efforts of the enemy. Sarsefield himself, at the head of a large body of cavalry, had crossed the Shannon, and penetrated into the county of Tipperary, where he threatened Cashel, and kept all the English garrisons in a state of alarm.

Ginckle had to march through a wasted and desolate country; he was far from his supplies, and Sarsefield had nearly cut off his communications with Dublin. As he marched, the population of the country fled from his army, carrying with them their families and effects; and considerable parties of Irish cavalry hovered round his line of march, making the desolation complete.

The sagacious Dutchman moved slowly and with great caution; and when he arrived at Nenagh, he thought it prudent to try the effect of another proclamation. This proclamation is dated from his camp at Nenagh; it recapitulates the terms before offered by the lords justices to the Irish in arms; — "liberty of religious worship; security of property and estate; and equal rank and office under King William;" and it enlarges the time limited by the former proclamations for accepting those terms.

The lords justices in the mean time had used their utmost efforts, and had been partially successful, in organising a Protestant militia in various parts of Ireland, as in Dublin and Cork, several of the northern towns, and the small Protestant settlements of Bandon and Dunmanway in the south. This force was actively employed in a fierce and barbarous warfare with the armed peasantry or rapparies; no quarter was given on either side. The militia were well

trained and armed, and made sudden and rapid excursions from their walled towns, whenever an opportunity offered of taking the enemy at advantage, or of plundering with effect. These southern corps resembled those of the north which went under the name of Enniskilleners, or Protestant Rapparies.

Ginckle approached Limerick very slowly: he was in want of horses and provisions; the country through which he passed afforded him nothing; he was obliged to bring his supplies from Dublin, and these often fell into the hands of the enemy by the way. He had been obliged to furnish the Irish garrison of Galway with a great portion of his draught horses; and he was now forced to call upon the nobility and gentry of Dublin to give up theirs for the service of the army. Having received this supply, he was at length enabled to reach this great bulwark and capital of the Irish, and sat down before the town.

The General's slow progress displeased the king, and alarmed the government at Dublin. The lords justices and council had been exceedingly terrified by the severity of the contest at Aughrim; where they had anticipated a cheap and a certain victory. Their anxiety was now excited by reports of vast preparations making in France for reinforcing the Irish at Limerick, and opening the campaign the ensuing summer

with a great force. If the French fleet should arrive in the Shannon, before Limerick was reduced, it was plain from the exhausted state William's resources that the war in Ireland must be decided in favour of James. The fate of the struggle rested therefore upon the despatch which Ginckle might be able to make in reducing Limerick, either by force or negotiation.

Every engine of influence and intrigue was accordingly put in action by the Dutch general, to induce a negotiation. The jealousies existing between the Irish and the French were the chief foundation of his hopes, and he worked them with all the energy and address in his power, and not without considerable success. The French officers had orders from their government to prevent by every means possible any negotiation between the British and Irish; but there were some amongst them who, though they outwardly obeyed the instructions of their court, were not displeased with a prospect of Ginckle's ultimate success. They considered the service in Ireland as a kind of banishment, where hardly a ray of that glory reached them which radiated from the throne of the *Grand Monarque*, and where they were shut out from the gaieties and splendor which surrounded the French military upon the Continent.

Limerick was now a chaos of contending parties and factions; some opposed to each other from honest convictions, some from corrupt motives, —, all eager and angry. The Irish of both parties, those who opposed negotiation, and those who supported it, were distrustful of France; but the former were still more distrustful of England.

In the midst of these anxious discussions the Duke of Tyrconnel died. His importance had long been sinking. It had declined with the source whence it emanated. James was but the shadow of a king, and Tyrconnel was nothing.

This man possessed some talent; but he was unequal to the crisis or the station in which he was placed. His want of adequate capacity did not, however, lead him to any great abuse of the power to which he had attained; he conducted himself with a moderation and lenity towards those most strongly opposed to him, of which they seldom afforded an example, and which formed an honourable contrast with the cruelties and oppressions of the Coots, the Inshiquins, and others of that class.

It was reported that he had been poisoned; and some said that he had been put to death by the war-party for corresponding with the enemy. But the more probable account is that he died of fever, brought on by disappointment and

vexation acting upon a sanguine disposition. He had fallen from great wealth and high station, and found himself neglected and almost despised. The semblance of office had, however, been suffered to remain with him to the last. The new lords justices appointed by James, with a delicacy that does them honour, finding on their arrival in Ireland that Tyrconnel was rapidly declining, and had most probably not long to live, omitted to announce their appointment, lest the departure of this last shadow of greatness should add any thing to the bitterness of his last hour.

On the death of Tyrconnel the newly appointed lords justices assumed their small authority, now circumscribed almost within the walls of Limerick. The justices were for peace. There was no longer any object in continuing the war. James possessed neither power nor energy of mind sufficient to re-establish his throne, if it were possible to reconstruct it. William offered the Irish every thing they could desire or demand. They did not doubt his sincerity; and if they distrusted his ministers, they had an equal distrust of the politics of the French court.

The French force in Ireland had never exceeded five or six thousand men, and even this small force had never taken an active part in the war. If Lewis had intended to give the

Irish a victory over their enemies, it was perfectly within his power, and of easy accomplishment, at any period of the contest. The gentry of Ireland felt indignant at the base policy of sacrificing their country to a cruel and destructive plan of protracted warfare; and were ready to run any risk of negotiation with an open and avowed enemy, rather than submit to the treachery of a false friend.

But for the present the justices were overruled by Lord Lucan and the French interest, who promised that Lewis would now put forth all his strength in the Irish contest. Accounts were soon received that a fleet of twenty large ships of war, with a great number of transports and store-ships, were in a forward state of preparation at Brest and other French ports, for the Irish campaign. These accounts decided the question for the moment; and all notion of accommodation was laid aside.

Ginckle, on his side, saw that whatever might be the effect of his intrigues or his arguments, he must support his case and his partisans in the town by some vigorous operations outside the walls. But before undertaking any active measure, he filled the country on all sides with his proclamations, and contrived to spread them extensively even within the city, by means of hawkers and pedlers, who had free access to the garrison. At the same time, his prepar-

ations for the siege began to make considerable noise.

It was about the middle of August; the weather had been exceedingly wet for some weeks, and the Shannon, in consequence, had risen and flooded the low grounds about Limerick. This had retarded Ginckle's operations; but towards the end of the month the weather began to improve. Orders were sent to the squadron in the river to push some of their light ships nearer the town. Two hundred and fifty draught-horses, and a large convoy of cavalry, were sent out to meet the heavy artillery on its way to the camp; and the army was ordered to prepare for the siege by making two thousand fascines each regiment. Before the end of the month the great guns arrived safe in the lines, and the army now began to close upon the town.

CHAP. XIV

SECOND SIEGE OF LIMERICK.

GINCKLE advanced upon Limerick with great caution, but he met with little opposition, the Irish falling back as he moved forward, and showing no disposition to make any serious resistance outside the walls; nor did they defend the two forts called Cromwell's and Ireton's, which were situated close to the town, with any vigour. After firing some shot they withdrew their men, and abandoned them to the enemy. Acting upon the same system, they took no measures to support the castles of Carrick-a-Gunnel and Castle Connel, which commanded the navigation of the river above and below the town, and which fell into Ginckle's hands without a struggle.

As in the former siege, the city maintained its communication open with the county of Clare; and all the horse, consisting of seventeen regiments, were encamped on the Clare side of the river.

The British ships in the river attempted to annoy the cavalry-camp by throwing shot into

it from time to time. They had approached as near the town as they could do with safety, and kept up a communication with the British army on the one side, and on the other with the squadron in the Shannon's mouth, from which point a line of ships of war communicated with the English fleet cruising off Cape Clear. This fleet was on the look-out for the French squadron expected to the relief of Limerick.

The General occupied nearly the same position before the town which the king had maintained; but, with less judgment, he directed his attacks chiefly upon the English town, which was impregnable. His works appeared to be too considerable and extensive for his force; and the duty in the trenches fell with extreme severity upon the army. The cavalry were obliged to take their turn with the infantry. Notwithstanding this exertion, and that the fire from the batteries was much more powerful than at the former siege, day after day passed, and Ginckle made no progress whatever. The city had been on fire several times, but the flames were speedily extinguished, and those casualties seemed to create but little annnoyance to the enemy.

The inhabitants had in fact left the city, and had erected tents upon the Clare side of the river, far removed from the enemy's fire, and under the protection of their cavalry-camp. Here it was that the lords justices kept their

court, and James's judges, civil officers, and nobility, were collected. The city-camp was very large and irregular; but the people enjoyed security and abundance, and the wholesome air of the country. The cavalry and city camp exhibited occasionally scenes of great gaiety and festivity, while the town, being empty of inhabitants, made the defence easy and convenient to the garrison.

The Irish tried some sallies, which seem to have been attended with little success; and after a while they appear to have decided upon leaving the English to wear themselves out with vain attempts upon their walls, satisfied that the season and the rains would soon force them to raise the siege.

The spirits of the besiegers were kept alive during the investment by some small successes in other parts of the country. Sligo, and the Island of Buffin in the Bay of Galway, had capitulated upon the same terms as Galway had done. There were a number of small affairs between scattered corps of the British army engaged in those operations and various bodies of rapparees which traversed the country in all directions, and were sometimes bold enough to attack detached parties of the regular troops. They generally suffered for their temerity upon those occasions.

In the course of this troublesome warfare, many of the rapparee leaders arrived at considerable celebrity, and their fame has not yet passed wholly away. The redoubted name of the "White Sergeant," and the feats of valour and celerity performed by "galloping Hogan," still live in the traditional tales of the country, and hold their ground in our nurseries and at our farmers' fire-sides.

Successful to the north of Limerick, and his position secured by the possession of Galway, Sligo, and Athlone, Ginckle made an effort to open the country to the south by pushing a strong corps into Kerry under brigadier Levisson. This officer carried on a severe, though desultory, warfare in that mountainous district, where the Irish had a small detachment of regular troops under Lord Merrion, supported by several corps of rapparees. Levisson, having made an attack upon the small town of Tralee, was repulsed, and the town defended by an officer and a few men with great spirit; but finally the garrison, not being able to defend the place, set it on fire and retreated. Afterwards this officer was taken prisoner, and tried by Levisson at a court-martial of his own appointing, for the burning of Tralee. He was sentenced to be hanged; and Ginckle confirmed the sentence, "unless," he said, "the officer could produce proof of an order from General Sarsefield to burn

the town." The proceeding against this officer, as well as Ginckle's execution of the sergeant who so gallantly defended the post committed to him near Athlone, is evidence of the strange and anomalous situation in which the Irish military stood towards William's officers; sometimes viewed as a *legitimate* enemy, sometimes looked upon as rebels, and generally maintaining a place between both characters, but approaching more nearly to the one or the other, according as they were more or less powerful in the field.

The season was now getting late, and Ginckle had not succeeded in winning the country-people into any confidence in him or his soldiers. No provisions were brought to camp. The country in his rear, as far as Sligo, was utterly exhausted by the struggles of the late campaign; and he had not been successful in drawing any supplies from Kerry by means of Levisson's operations.

In this difficulty recourse was had to a proclamation, which was issued by the lords justices, and addressed to the farmers and cotters. It promised them that if they would return to their farms in Connaught, and save the harvest, now ripe, they should be protected, and permitted to remain or return as they might think proper; and "that all persons who would save the hay or corn upon the lands of absent proprietors should have half the produce for their own use, and be secured in the possession." But nothing

could inspire the people with confidence in William's foreign soldiery. The proclamation had no effect, and every where, in the vicinity of the army, the harvest perished on the ground. Those who had trusted in proclamations and protections had suffered severely by their credulity, and were, of all others, the most unfortunate, except the unhappy Protestants who were too poor to quit the country entirely, and were unable to find food or employment in the towns. These unlucky people were a prey to both armies; but the Irish soldiery treated them with more humanity than the Danes and Germans, and other foreigners of Ginckle's divisions.

There is a small island in the Shannon called St. Thomas's Island, at a short distance from the town. On this little spot there was a castle garrisoned by a few soldiers, in which were a number of Protestant prisoners, who had been inhabitants of the vicinity and town of Limerick. They were confined on the island, lest their correspondence with the enemy might be prejudicial to the defence of the town, as it had been at the last siege. But their property had not been touched, and they were permitted to remove their effects into the island.

Unfortunately for these prisoners they were released from their confinement. Ginckle collected a few boats and pushed a detachment across to the island. The castle made but little

resistance, and the prisoners were set at large. But they were plundered by their liberators of every thing they possessed, stripped of their clothes, and turned out, houseless and almost naked, to enjoy the blessings of liberty and starvation. When the Protestants were so used by their brethren of the reformed faith, the Catholics had little reason to expect good treatment.

Ginckle, finding that he made no progress in the siege, determined to try some new batteries, and if these produced no effect, he resolved to abandon the enterprise as hopeless. He chose his new position towards the river, and as near as possible to King's Island. Here he erected a battery, consisting of thirty-five guns, all twenty-four and eighteen pounders, with eight large mortars; the construction of which, in a very difficult position, cost infinite labour. From this battery an incessant fire was kept up for several days, and a breach was at length effected in the wall of King's Island, between the Abbey and Ball's Bridge.

It was now decided to pass the arm of the Shannon, which encompasses King's Island, and try an assault upon the breach. Considerable preparations were made for this attempt. But the works constructed for passing the river were repeatedly destroyed by the Irish, after having cost great labour and expense. At length it was discovered, that if they should even succeed

in crossing the Shannon at this point, the assault would be one of such great hazard, as to involve the safety of the whole army; and with the river in their rear, should they be repulsed, the defeat must be destruction. These considerations, which ought to have been weighed before constructing the battery, induced the General to give up the attack on the breach in despair.

But this breach had been the hopes of the army; and renouncing the assault was equal to a renunciation of the siege. So Ginckle considered it: he looked upon the city as beyond his power, and issued immediate orders for the repair of the fortifications of Kilmallock, intending to raise the siege, and establish his winter-quarters in that town.

But this resolution was taken with great reluctance. In a few days, the French fleet might be expected in the Shannon; and the Irish, reinforced with men and supplies of every kind, would probably resume an offensive war during the winter; and in a season so favourable to native troops, and in the wasted condition of the British army, their operations might be attended with a success fatal to the issue of the war. It was settled to postpone the march to Kilmallock for a few days.

It had been frequently represented to the British general, by every one acquainted with

the country, that he had no chance of carrying the town, while the garrison and inhabitants enjoyed a free communication beyond the river to the west. The city was, in fact, invested upon three sides only; the fourth was perfectly open. Ginckle had always felt the reasonableness of those representations. He was convinced of the necessity of investing the town on the Clare side. But how was it to be done? The forces he commanded were miserably insufficient, even for the investment of that portion of the town which he covered. A considerable army, nearly equal to his own, including several corps of cavalry, of which he was particularly apprehensive, lay upon the Clare side of the city; and he could not construct his works there, without first gaining a victory in the field.

Supposing that he had a force equal to the enterprise, how was he to cross the river? And if he succeeded in crossing the river, it must be with a considerable portion of his army; otherwise, if he were defeated, he might be exposed to total destruction, with one part of his force divided from the other by the great breadth of the Shannon, while the Irish might sally from the town at their pleasure, and pour their whole strength upon either division of his army. The plan proposed gave the enemy the

option of fighting either of his wings with their whole force.

It was an experiment too hazardous to be made, unless seconded by treachery or surprise. Ginckle, indeed, had never any expectation that he could succeed in taking Limerick by any other means. His intrigues had not been hitherto as successful as he had hoped; but they were not wholly unavailing. He had succeeded in opening a communication with several Irish officers of high rank, who were equally impatient of the war and of their allies; and was in correspondence, at this time, with Brigadier-general Clifford, who commanded an advanced post of cavalry on the side of the river opposite to his camp. Clifford's command of this post was a fortunate circumstance, and formed the foundation of a scheme for the surprise of the Irish on the Clare bank of the river, which was now the last resource of the besiegers.

About two miles from the town there was a small island in the Shannon, lying nearer the Clare than the Limerick bank. This was the most convenient place for passing the river. A bridge of boats, of moderate length, would reach the island; and from the island to the opposite bank the stream was fordable. On the Limerick side Ginckle had established a strong post of cavalry and infantry. The Irish had a still

stronger on the other side, under the command of General Clifford.

It was determined to try again the same feint which had succeeded so well at Athlone. For several days Ginckle made great show and bustle of abandoning the siege. The workmen were busy repairing the works at Kilmallock, and preparing that place for the reception of the army. A good deal of baggage, and a regiment of Danes, had been sent forward in that direction. The batteries had almost ceased firing; and at length the cannon were dismounted at the battery near King's Island, and at some other principal points. All this demonstration was made with the less cost, as Ginckle really intended to dismantle his works and proceed to Kilmallock, in case he did not succeed in the attempt now meditated, and if he succeeded, the dismantling was equally necessary.

Every thing succeeded; the garrison were fully persuaded of Ginckle's serious intention to abandon the siege, and were indulging in the negligence of triumph; meanwhile Ginckle was collecting boats upon various points on the river, which waited but the signal to be brought together. A favourable night came, and a bridge was constructed with great secrecy and despatch, extending from the Limerick bank to the island. Six hundred grenadiers led the way across the bridge; and these were followed by a great

force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The passage was made in safety to the island, and from the island through the shallow water to the mainland, though the night was exceedingly dark. There were a few men posted on the island; who gave the alarm to Clifford's post, yet, when the British grenadiers passed the ford, and gained the Clare bank of the river, no orders had been given to oppose them. The brigadier commanded four regiments of horse, and two of foot, at the post, but he neither offered any opposition, nor did he give notice to the camp of the attack. Some of the infantry, however, ran to the bank, and were followed by a number of the cavalry on foot, who kept the grenadiers in check till overpowered by the arrival of the British cavalry and artillery. These few brave men found themselves unsupported. Clifford had rode away with the cavalry, but still omitted to send any information to the camp of what had happened.

The British themselves brought the first advices of their adventure across the river. The cavalry-camp was completely surprised. Their horses were two miles distant from the camp at grass. Part of the soldiers fled towards the mountains, accompanied by a great number of the citizens, who composed the "camp of the town." Multitudes rushed towards Thomond

bridge, and tried to enter the city by that narrow and difficult approach.

The panic was complete. The Irish of every description, civil and military, could hardly have escaped destruction, if Ginckle had not been suddenly seized with the fear of ambuscade. He ordered the troops to halt, and afforded the Irish an opportunity to recover from their fright and astonishment. After a considerable delay, Ginckle again moved forward, and entered the Irish camp without opposition. It was empty; but they found a considerable booty of bread, beef, and brandy, and a great supply of saddles and cavalry-accoutrements.

James's lords justices, accompanied by a number of ladies of rank, and a crowd of civil officers, having in their custody the records and public treasure, remained for a considerable time at a small house, about half a mile from the bank of the river, guarded by some squadrons of dragoons and a regiment of foot, and then proceeded westwards towards Clare-castle.

The surprise had succeeded beyond all expectation; and this affair would have been decisive of the fate of the town, if Ginckle had been able to shake off the apprehension he felt for his position. The dread that the garrison might sally from the town, and attack his lines on the other side of the river, hung over him the whole time, and prevented his following

up his success. He retreated with some precipitation, and recrossed the river in safety.

He had calculated, that the Irish would not neglect the opportunity he afforded them, of attacking him upon the Limerick side, while he was engaged on the other bank of the river. But the confusion and surprise in the town were too great to permit the Irish generals to arrange any plan of operations; nor was it safe, while the feeling was on every man's mind that there was treachery somewhere; — they did not know where, nor how far it might extend.

The first use Ginckle made of his advantage on his return to camp was to renew his often-renewed proclamation of terms. This proclamation is dated, "Camp before Limerick, 16th September, 1691." It reiterates the former offers of freedom of religious worship; restoration and security of property; possession of, and advancement to offices and employments in the state; and inveighs bitterly against those who would reject such offers, and would "sacrifice their country to the ambition and tyranny of France."

But the proclamation produced no immediate effect; and Ginckle became apprehensive of the danger of continuing the siege. A council of war was called, and the question of an immediate retreat, or another effort, was warmly debated. Talmash, who commanded the only British bri-

gade in the army, was here, as he had been at Athlone, for trying fortune to the last hour. He urged another attempt, and it was agreed to, with the understanding, that it was to be the last if it were not decidedly successful.

About this time an incident happened which shook the confidence of the Irish in the proclamations of the Dutch generals or the lords justices. Some of Ginckle's foreign soldiers had penetrated a considerable distance into the country, upon a marauding expedition: finding nothing but potatoes, they took leave to dig a quantity, and found horses and carts to bring them off. But the peasants had taken post advantageously upon the road where they were to pass on their return to camp, and succeeded in recovering their potatoes. Some of the soldiers were killed and the rest dispersed. On the arrival of the marauders in the camp, Ginckle having learned what occurred, sent them back with a large party. Some of the peasants were taken and brought prisoners before the General; charged with the offence of defending their own property, which by so many proclamations he had declared to be inviolable.

The peasants were tried and condemned, and Ginckle sentenced them to be "broken on the wheel." Several English officers, however, remonstrated against the sentence, and stated this mode of punishment to be contrary to the laws

of England. Ginckle submitted, and changed the sentence; the prisoners were simply hanged and quartered.

On the 22d of September the general-in-chief passed the river a second time, with all the cavalry of the army, ten regiments of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon. The bridge of boats which communicated from the main land to the island had been preserved since the former expedition. The passage was not disputed. But when the British approached Thomond gate, it appeared that it was at this position the Irish proposed to receive them. Thomond gate defended the entrance of the bridge upon the Clare side, and was guarded by two strong towers.

The British advanced guard of infantry was charged by the Irish horse, broken, and driven back. A strong body of cavalry rode up to support the infantry, these were again sustained by others; and the Irish horse upon their side received constant reinforcements. The battle continued very hot till about four in the evening; when the main body of the British infantry coming up, the Irish cavalry retired upon the forts that covered the bridge. Here the Irish infantry were posted, and the battle was long and severe. Close to Thomond gate were high grounds, intermixed with gravel pits and quarries. The Irish had filled these chasms with

infantry, and the British were now exposed to a galling fire from these positions, as well as from the forts and the town walls; the shot from which told on the opposite side of the river. But there was no retreat for the British; if they had been defeated they would have been destroyed. It would have been impossible for them to have recrossed the river in presence of a victorious enemy. Every man was convinced of this, and knew that the adventure across the river was a measure of desperation. With a gallantry never surpassed, the British grenadiers forced their way through every obstacle; passed the forts; pierced the columns of Irish infantry; and, supported by the whole British force, beat them back tumultuously upon Thomond bridge.

The force that guarded Thomond gate had been by no means equal to the weight of the attack. The Irish commanders had not anticipated a greater enterprise on the part of Ginckle than he had before attempted. But upon this occasion nearly the whole British army had crossed the river; the entire cavalry, and the main strength of the infantry. Efforts were made to reinforce the Irish from the town. But the great strength of the English had been discovered too late, and the attempt to restore the battle, by pushing several fresh battalions over Thomond bridge, only increased the confusion which had begun to prevail. The new regiments,

struggling to make their way over the bridge, were met by the crowd of fugitives trying to escape into the town, and these again were followed by the combatants, English and Irish; the latter fighting and retreating, the former forcing their way, with great slaughter, through the wedged mass that choked the jaws of the bridge.

The new troops were forced back into the town by the weight of the mass that pressed upon them, and the whole disorderly rout rushed furiously along the long narrow bridge into the city.

Thomond bridge is of great length, consisting of eighteen or nineteen arches of moderate size, but in breadth not greater than would admit an ordinary carriage to pass. In this narrow pass the combatants were locked together, without possibility of separation or escape. The British on the bridge were forced forward furiously by the columns behind them, and could only make way by killing; but even this process soon ceased to afford them any relief, for the bodies of the dead and wounded choked up the passage, and opposed their inert mass as effectually as their active energies when living. The soldiers had to throw them over the battlements, or to pile them on each side, as they passed. The latter was the easier course, and the bodies of the Irish and British slain upon the bridge and piled on each side soon overtopped the parapet.

This narrowed the passage upon the bridge still more. The Irish, as they retreated, formed ramparts of the slain, and impeded the advance of the enemy by this expedient.

While the struggle on the bridge was fiercest, the French officer, who commanded at the drawbridge that communicated with the city gate, ordered it to be drawn up and the gate closed. This put an end to the contest on the bridge; most of the Irish thinking themselves now abandoned, jumped over the battlements into the river, in order to reach the city wall by swimming. Many succeeded, but a great number were drowned.

The French commandant had drawn up the bridge in a panic, lest the British grenadiers should succeed in pushing with the fugitives into the town. The measure, perhaps, was one of necessity, but the Irish always insisted that it was not, and never forgave it.

The success of the British was complete. The whole Irish force on the Clare side, except the cavalry, had been defeated and dispersed. The cavalry had been paralysed by the surprise of their camp on the first expedition, and on the second were able to mount but a small part of their force. The arms, saddles, and accoutrements of almost the whole body had been seized and carried off by the British, and they had not yet been able to repair the loss.

Notwithstanding this decisive victory, the British were as far as ever from having made any impression on the town. When Ginckle recrossed the river and sat down in his camp again, he found himself just in the situation he was in before. The Irish had lost a few hundred men, but their force was large, and they could well spare them, and could at any time recruit their strength from the surrounding population. The loss of the British had not been trifling. Though much less in number than that of the enemy, it was much more severe in fact, for it was not to be repaired. The general's great reliance was upon the moral effect of his victory. If it succeeded in inclining the Irish to accept the terms he offered, his object would be gained.

The moral effect of the victory at Thomond gate was greater than Ginckle had ventured to anticipate. The Irish soldiery were enraged against the French who had guarded the draw-bridge, and who, without venturing to engage in the combat, had coldly drawn up the bridge for their own security, and left their companions to perish.

The army generally were dissatisfied. The defence seemed to be conducted without plan, and every opportunity that had occurred for the annoyance of the enemy had been neglected. The Irish at Thomond gate were but a detachment, and they had fought the whole British army,

and were sacrificed. If when Ginckle had crossed the river with nearly his whole force, the troops had been withdrawn from that side, and marched through the city to the attack of his camp, they would easily have destroyed the British lines, and cut to pieces the few regiments left to defend them. But while the main body of the Irish were idle in the town, the detachment at Thomond gate was left to be destroyed by a superior force.

Sarsefield, though not governor of the town, had the command of the army, and appears to have conducted the operations of the war with little ability. He was, probably, one of those officers who are fitter to execute than to contrive. Bold, brave, and sagacious, at the head of a detachment, his genius appears to have deserted him when he had to direct the movements of a great force, or to guide the interests of a nation. The events that followed the death of St. Ruth, and the gross mismanagement at Limerick, support the opinion of Sarsefield's inadequacy to the command.

It is true, that the dissensions which prevailed within the walls during the last siege made it extremely difficult to conduct the defence upon any plan that promised success. Some of the superior officers of the army were anxious, upon principle, for peace. They considered that William had offered such terms as they might ac-

cept with honour; that Lewis had trifled with the Irish; and that a British connection was to be preferred to a French one, even under some disadvantages. Other officers of rank had taken the gold of the British general, and more had been bribed with promises of place and power.

Sarsefield himself began to waver. He feared that under all those circumstances it would be impossible to conduct the war with honour to his reputation. And if the peace-party should prevail, the city might be delivered up, as it had been at a former time to Ireton, without conditions. The French succours had been too long delayed; and if they arrived they would come, probably, with a commission depriving him, as before, of the command, and transferring all authority in Ireland to strangers. This was not to be endured.

Those considerations induced the Irish commanders to listen to terms. Sarsefield yielded with regret to his fears of being superseded in the command, and to the necessity of the case. The French commanders concurred, not unwilling to be forced to return to the enjoyments of the Continent.

On the 23d of September, the town beat a parley, and Generals Sarsefield and Waughup came out, and had a conference with Ginckle. A cessation of arms was concluded for the night. In the morning the cessation was renewed for

three days, to give the generals in the town an opportunity of sending to their horse, then encamped near Ennis. In this interval the prisoners on both sides were exchanged.

On the 25th, the Lords Galmoy, Westmeath, Dillon, and Trimbleston, Sir Theobald Butler, the Roman Catholic primate, and archbishop of Cashel, arrived from the horse-camp, and dined with General Ginckle. After dinner they returned to town by water, passing, in their way to the river-side, through large bodies of their own men, who were busily employed burying their dead; a ceremony of religious obligation amongst the Irish, but which Ginckle seldom permitted to be done during his command of the army.

The following day Sarsefield and Waughup dined with Ginckle, and it was agreed to exchange hostages until the terms of a treaty of peace should be adjusted. On the part of the British, Lord Cutts, Sir David Collier, Colonel Tiffin, and Colonel Piper, were sent into the town as hostages. On the part of the Irish, the Lords Westmeath, Louth, Trimbleston, and Iveagh.

On the 27th the Irish submitted their proposals to General Ginckle in the seven propositions following: —

1st. That their majesties will, by an act of indemnity, pardon all past offences whatever.

2d. All Irish Catholics to be restored to the estates of which they were seised or possessed before the late revolution.

3d. To allow free liberty of religious worship, and one priest to each parish, as well in towns and cities as in the country.

4th. Irish Catholics to be capable of holding all employments, civil and military, under the crown, and of exercising all trades, professions, and callings whatsoever.

5th. The Irish army to be kept on foot, and received in their present condition into their majesties' service, in case they be willing to serve their majesties against France or any other enemy.

6th. The Irish Catholics to be at liberty to reside in cities and towns corporate, to be members of corporations, and to exercise all corporate franchises and immunities.

7th. An act of parliament to be passed for ratifying and confirming these conditions.

Ginckle had not proposed his own conditions, but had made it a matter of courtesy to the besieged that they should propose theirs. His object was to ascertain the extent of what they required; and he was exceedingly rejoiced to find that the long and anxiously desired peace was of such easy accomplishment. He affected, however, to consider the terms as extravagant; made a show of breaking off the negotiation;

and even tried a sham attempt at raising a new battery. All this time, however, he had tried the effect of extraordinary courtesy and attention to Lord Lucan, and on the first parley had written to the secretary at war requesting to be furnished with the King's letter "touching that nobleman." William had written to the secretary, desiring that on the first opportunity every effort should be made to engage Lord Lucan in his service. William was a better judge of military talent than James, and did not intend to pass by that of Sarsefield.

Ginckle's conduct was the mere finesse of common-place diplomacy. At the moment that he affected to make difficulties, as to the terms proposed, he had the king's letter in his possession, authorising and directing him to grant these and much more.

On the 28th, Lord Lucan, Baron Purcell, General Waughup, Sir Garrett Dillon, Colonel Brown, Sir Theobald Butler, the archbishop of Cashel, with several other officers and persons of rank, came to Ginckle's quarters, and had some conversation upon the articles of peace that had been proposed. The general sent for all his general officers, and after a very long discussion, articles were agreed to for the whole Irish nation; on the ratification of which, Limerick, and all other towns and garrisons in possession of the Irish army, were to be delivered

up to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary.

The same evening Ginckle sent an express to Cork, ordering the transports in that harbour to sail round to the Shannon, for the purpose of taking on board such part of the Irish army as might choose to go beyond sea. A letter was also despatched by a fast-sailing ship to Sir Ralph Delaval, the British admiral, then commanding a squadron upon the coast, in which the general acquaints him, that "he had entered into a treaty with the city of Limerick and the Irish army, which is just now come to a conclusion. In the mean time," he continues, "we have a cessation of arms at land, and have agreed there shall be one, too, at sea." And he desires that the French fleet shall not be prevented from coming into the Shannon and Dingle bay, and acquaints him that the French intendant at Limerick had written to the French admiral expected on the coast, to acquaint him of the treaty, and to warn him against hostilities. He concludes by impressing on the admiral the necessity of a "strict observance" of the cessation, as of the most urgent importance to their majesties' service.

We observe by this despatch, that the treaty of Limerick was not a mere capitulation of that town, but was understood to be a treaty for the general pacification of the kingdom; and that it was concluded on the part of the Irish with a

full knowledge that the French fleet were on the coast, or might hourly be expected there.

While the treaty of Limerick had been in progress, William, alarmed at the preparations of France, and impatient of the protraction of the war in Ireland, had despatched instructions to the lords justices to publish, without delay, a proclamation which he had prepared and forwarded for that purpose. This proclamation was printed by the lords justices, but before it was published they received accounts from Ginckle of the treaty with the Irish being concluded on. The proclamation was suppressed; and we only know that it offered to the Irish Catholics all that they at that time contended for, or sought at any time since.

The Irish officers at Limerick, military and civil, if they did act from design, cannot be acquitted of the charge of being bad negotiators. They had the whole game in their hands, and threw it away. With their usual ill fortune they concluded peace just at the wrong time. After having fought out the battle to the end, with a degree of skill and valour which placed them, at least, upon a level with the enemy, and with the advantage of an impregnable fortress, which had often been assailed with all the power of human skill and valour, and had never been taken, they hurried to the conclusion of the treaty, which a little ordinary management would have delayed

and protracted at least for a few days, when the wet weather would have set in, and the French fleet would have arrived, and Ginckle's wasted and worn out army would have been compelled to accept any terms they might choose to dictate.

But there is every reason to think that Ginckle was not the only party to this treaty who was in great apprehension lest it might be defeated by the arrival of the French fleet. The Irish generals knew that the fleet had sailed, or was on the point of sailing, and yet they precipitated the treaty with Ginckle; and it can hardly be doubted that they did so to escape being bound by the orders which might come from France; or their authority being superseded altogether, by strangers bringing out new commissions from James and Lewis.

A majority of the Irish nobility and gentry were resolved that the country should not be submitted entirely to French domination; others were not prepared to endure the humiliation of having French authorities put over them. A few longed to give peace to their country, and thought that the terms offered by the King left little that was worth continuing the war for. All felt that if the French arrived the war must be continued. The Irish generals, therefore, concurred with the British commander in a wish to forestall the French by a ratification of the treaty before their arrival.

The preliminaries of the treaty being settled, it was determined to wait the arrival of the lords justices, then on their way from Dublin, before the articles should be drawn into form. In the mean time the British horse removed beyond Six-mile bridge in the county of Clare, for the convenience of forage, and a friendly intercourse was established between the two armies; the Irish officers and soldiers visiting freely in the camp, and the British in the city.

CHAP. XV.

TREATY OF LIMERICK.

THE lords justices arrived in camp about nine at night on the 1st day of October. On the 2d, about three at noon, the Irish officers, civil and military, met them. The French generals did not attend the meeting, though they signed the articles. At this meeting there was considerable debate; and it was not till twelve o'clock at night that the terms of the treaty were finally arranged. At that hour orders were given to the clerks in waiting to engross the articles.

On the 3d of October the Irish officers assembled again at the Duke of Wirtemberg's, and having dined with the duke, they afterwards adjourned to the general's tent, where the treaty was regularly signed by all the parties — Lucan, Galmoy, Purcell, Waughup, and Talbot, on the part of the Irish; D'Usson, De Tessee, and Montford, on the part of the French; and for the English, the lords justices, Porter and Coningsby, and Generals Ginckle, Scravenmore, Mackey, and Talmash.

The articles were drawn up by the Lord Chief Baron Rice, assisted by Sir Theobald Butler. They were divided into two sets of articles; one civil, which had reference to the general interests of the Catholics throughout the kingdom, the other military, which treated of the army, and of the towns, castles, and fortresses then in the hands of the Irish troops.

The military articles stipulated for the surrender of Limerick, and other fortresses, at specified periods, and provided that the Irish garrisons should march out with arms, baggage, and effects, and all the honours of war; and that such of the Irish army as may think proper should be provided with shipping, and be transported to France, at the cost and charges of the British government, with their property of every kind, and horses for the officers, and a thousand spare horses, and that they should be at liberty to march to the places of embarkation in what order or numbers they may choose. And that all other persons, of what quality or condition soever, whether English, Irish, or Scotch, desiring to quit the kingdom, should be at liberty to do so, without molestation or hinderance on account of debt, or any other real or pretended cause. This was the substance of the military articles.

The civil articles stipulated, that the Catholics should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of

their religion as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles the Second.

And further guaranteed that all Irish Catholics submitting to their majesties' obedience should enjoy all privileges and immunities which the Catholics of Ireland did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second, on taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties, and *no other*.

And provided, "that all Irish Catholics in the army, or within the protection of the Irish quarters in Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Clare, Sligo, Mayo, or elsewhere, shall have quiet and full enjoyment of their estates and possessions, and shall be restored, they or their heirs, to the possession of such property or estates as they possessed or were entitled to in the reign of Charles the Second, or at any time since, whether seized into the king's hands or into the hands of any other persons, without being put to suit or trouble therein, and discharged of all claims on account of crown-rents, quit-rents, or any other public charges."

And further guaranteed that the Catholics should be at liberty to exercise and practise all pursuits and professions as fully and freely as in the reign of Charles the Second.

And further provided for a general pardon of all treasons, violences, and offences whatsoever, against the state or any individual.

It is evident, in considering those articles which are very plainly and distinctly drawn, and admit of no ground for mistake or equivocation, that the object of the parties was to restore the Catholics in all and every particular to the condition they enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second; on the terms only of taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties, and *no other*, as it is emphatically expressed. In every article, whether reference be made to rights, titles, interests, privileges, or immunities, whether the subject be political, or relate only to private property, or professional practice, the invariable reference is to the state of things as they existed in the reign of Charles the Second.

The only question, therefore, which could arise upon the treaty, is, What was the condition of the Catholics in that reign? This question, as far as it related to private property, and other particulars mentioned in the articles, has long been set at rest by time, that great adjuster of claims and quieter of controversies. As far, however, as it bears upon political privileges, it is still a subject of history.

At the time the treaty was settled by the able men who drew it, the state of the Catholics during the reign of Charles was fresh in the mind and memory of every one; and when they referred to that period they fixed a standard, about which there could be no dispute or

mistake. As, however, the evidences of things relating to that time have faded away, questions have been raised as to what was the condition of the Catholics in the reign of Charles.

But it is a question of easy solution. In that reign Catholics sat in both houses of parliament, as will appear by referring to the journals of the Irish parliament, where the names of various Catholic lords sitting and voting are specified and referred to expressly as Catholic lords. There was no law to prevent Catholics sitting and voting in parliament in that reign; nor was any such law in existence in Ireland down to the reign of Anne. That such was the case, is further proved by the struggles which took place in the Irish parliament at various times during the reign of William to procure a law similar to one then existing in England, excluding Catholics from both houses, by requiring them to take the oath of supremacy and the sacrament, according to the forms of the Protestant church, as a necessary qualification. The act did not pass during William's life, but was one of the first enacted in the reign of Queen Anne.

As to other offices and employments, — the law in Charles the Second's reign might have excluded Catholics from corporations and some other official situations; but it rested upon certain obsolete acts of Elizabeth's reign, which had

never been enforced in Ireland; and in point of fact great numbers of Catholics held offices in corporations, and various other offices under the crown, during the entire of that reign.

The condition of the Catholics in Charles the Second's reign is very accurately set forth in a publication of that period, printed in the reign of James the Second. This publication has been referred to before, as one of ability and authority. It is the answer to the Coventry Letter, "by a Person of Honour," London, 1688.

"By this pamphlet," (The Coventry Letter,) says the Person of Honour, "and other books printed both at home and abroad, the condition of the Irish is described as (under Cromwell) the most miserable and oppressed as any people were ever in under the sun."

"I could not see what happened during the war, yet have reason to believe some of them (the Irish) did more mischief than they could suffer. But since King Charles the Second's restoration they had no occasion to complain. They have been equally protected by the law. The free exercise of their religion hath been connived at. There have still been parish priests in every parish competently maintained by the Irish farmers; which the British landlords suffered to their great disprofit, when dissenting Protestants have been severely persecuted, espe-

cially in the province of Ulster, and indicted as rioters for religious assemblies."

"Great and frequent meetings at mass have not been taken notice of. They have been allowed to keep the holydays of their own church, and not forced to observe those of the Protestants; I mean the 29th of May, nor the 30th of January, which I never could hear they minded."

This curious inventory of privileges and favours enjoyed by the Catholics generally, is followed by an account of the various advantages accruing to each class respectively; — to the restored proprietors who got back their estates in a better condition than when they parted with them; and to the labourers and farmers, who had got terms of their holdings and farms, and lived better than ever they had done before. He then proceeds to state, that

"The artificers, tradesmen, and merchants were freely admitted to follow their respective callings in *corporations*. If there were laws to the contrary they were not put in practice." And—

"All freeholders, without distinction, were admitted to pass on juries; to be ELECTORS or ELECTED PARLIAMENT-MEN; and none excluded out of the house of lords for religion."

This is the statement of a very sturdy Cromwellian, circulated extensively at the time, and of

unquestionable authority. There can, therefore, be no doubt or difficulty as to the privileges enjoyed of right, or by indulgence, by the Catholics in the reign of Charles. All the proclamations, previous to the treaty at Limerick, referred to them as privileges. Bishop Burnet is full authority as to the opinion and understanding universally entertained at the time concerning the treaty.* He was personally acquainted with most of the actors in the scene, and with men of all parties; and he speaks of the disappointment which the publication of the treaty occasioned to the violent anti-catholic party. No one in Burnet's time doubted that the treaty was a complete Catholic emancipation. This was the opinion of those who rejoiced, and of those who mourned over it.

* "When they came to capitulate, the Irish insisted on very high demands, which was set on by the French, who hoped they would be rejected; but the king had given Ginckle secret instructions that he should grant all the demands they could make that would put an end to that war. So every thing was granted, to the great disappointment of the French, and the no small grief of some of the English, who hoped this war should have ended in the total ruin of the Irish interest.

"Those of Limerick treated not only for themselves but for all the rest of their countrymen that were yet in arms. They were all indemnified, and restored to all that they had enjoyed in King Charles's time. They were also admitted to all the privileges of subjects upon their taking the oaths of allegiance to their majesties, without being bound to take the oath of supremacy."—BURNET's *Hist.* book v. p. 81.

And it cannot be doubted that the Catholics were purchasers of the treaty for valuable consideration. The price they gave for it was a crown and a kingdom. They transferred the crown of Ireland from James's head to William's, and the kingdom from France to Great Britain. They were abundantly able to continue the war; and, with the assistance of France, to win victory still to their standard. William's army could not have fought another campaign without large supplies of men and money, which were wholly beyond his power to furnish, having at that time suffered great reverses on the Continent, and his resources being utterly exhausted.

On the 4th of October Major-general Talmash, at the head of five British regiments, marched into Limerick, and occupied the Irish-town, the English-town remaining still in the possession of the Irish. "They found," says the annalist, "the works exceedingly strong, and the town as dirty." The latter portion of the description, we fear, would be found at this day applicable to the city of Limerick.

The bridge, which formed the only communication between the English and Irish town, was now guarded by the troops of both nations, each having sentinels on their side of the bridge. In this position of the parties, a dispute arose

between Sarsefield and Ginckle, which had like to have terminated in a rupture of the treaty.

An Irish colonel, whose regiment had volunteered for the French service, declared that he would not accompany the regiment into France. Lord Lucan treated this as a breach of duty, and put the colonel under arrest. The colonel complained to Ginckle; and the latter took it up very warmly. Sarsefield defended his conduct; and a sharp controversy followed between the two commanders. It was followed by rather a warm contention between the generals as to the service which the Irish troops might now elect to be enrolled in; — Sarsefield using his influence with the soldiers, on the side of France, and Ginckle alluring them to that of England.

Ginckle published a proclamation, addressed to the soldiers of the Irish army; in which he laid before them the superior advantages of the British service. He assures them, "that it was not true, as reported, that if they entered the English army they would be sent into Hungary, or other distant parts of the world; but, on the contrary, should have their own election where they might choose to serve, and afterwards be permitted to return home and live peaceable and happy lives in their own country; whereas, if they entered into the service of France, they could not expect ever again to see their native

land, as his majesty's government could not permit them to return to Ireland."

He stated further, "that such troopers as would join the English army should be paid the full value for their horses, arms, and accoutrements, though, according to the articles, they were bound to deliver them up without compensation, except a stipulated number.

The earnestness with which the British commanders contended for recruits from the Irish military, whom they had all along affected to regard as bad soldiers, surprised the Irish officers; and the tone which Ginckle had assumed in the late misunderstanding with Sarsefield piqued them to counteract this design of turning their men into the ranks of an army with which they had contended so long.

The day following the publication of Ginckle's proclamation, Lord Lucan and General Waughup paraded the whole Irish army in the King's Island at Limerick, and harangued the soldiers at some length, in answer to the proclamation. Sarsefield painted strongly the advantages of the French service; and stated, "that their pay would be still continued, after their entering the French army, at the same rate as they then enjoyed upon the Irish establishment, though the pay of the French troops was less; and that the officers, in like manner, would preserve in the French army the rank they now

held in the army of Ireland. Nor need they despair of again returning to their native country. It would probably not be long before they would again revisit Ireland, accompanied by a powerful French force. Or if they first paid a visit to England, they might like the trip; and after having placed the crown of that country on the head of the rightful king, they might conclude their labours by a happy repose, full of honour and triumph, in their native land."

It is observable that in this speech of Sarsefield's, the substance of which we have given, and in Ginckle's proclamation, both appeal to that strong passion of the Irish, their attachment to "native land." The British general tells them, if they enter the French service they will see it no more; the Irish commander dwells upon the probability that they will certainly revisit it, and return crowned with victory and honour.

After Sarsefield's address the soldiers were ordered to their quarters. On the following day they were again paraded; and the regimental chaplains preached a sermon at the head of each regiment, in which they expatiated upon the sins of the nation and the judgments that had fallen upon the people, which made it necessary for them to enter into terms with their enemies. They did justice to the brave and faithful services of the army; and called the attention of the

soldiers to the duty they still owed their country, "to make choice of that service where their valour and fidelity would best promote the interest of their native land, and uphold the true and holy faith which they professed." They pointed to France, as the great and glorious nation which invited their services, while she was waging the battle of the true religion in the midst of a corrupt world; upon whose arms the blessing of God had been and would be. And they designated William as the great leader and apostle of the fearful heresy which had sprung up in the latter ages of the church, and all under his standard as incurring the dread risk of perdition.

After these powerful exhortations, the bishops entered the field, and went along the lines blessing the troops with extended arms as they passed. When this imposing ceremony was concluded, the soldiers were regaled by a liberal distribution of biscuit and brandy.

Their refreshment being finished, the drums beat, and the soldiers again fell into line; and the whole body of foot, counting over fifteen thousand men, were marched over Thomond bridge, and drawn up along the river side. Here the lords justices, and all the generals from the British camp, met them. They were received with music and arms presented; and afterwards passed slowly along the lines inspect-

ing the condition and appearance of the troops very minutely. We are told they declared "that they had never seen a finer army."

The soldiers had now to undergo another speech. Adjutant-general Withers had been appointed by the lords justices to harangue them, on the superior advantages of the British over the French service; and on the sin of preferring a foreign enlistment to that of their own king and country. We are assured that Withers performed his task very well.

It had been arranged between the British and Irish generals, that when the speeches were concluded on both sides, the troops should be formed into column, and marched past a flag which had been fixed at a given point; — those for England were to file off to the left when they reached the flag; those for France were to march on.

All being ready, the army took the word from Lord Lucan, and broke into column. The British and Irish generals, the French officers, the lords justices of the two kings, William and James, all arranged themselves at a little distance from the flag where the troops were to declare for France or England. When this was done Sarsefield gave the word — March.

The head of the column was composed of James's royal regiment of Irish guards fourteen hundred strong, and the finest infantry of the

army. They moved on in profound silence. The whole population of Limerick and Clare were gazing upon the scene from the banks of the river and adjacent hills; but there was no sound or movement, except the solemn tread of the battalions. The leading company of the guards soon reached the flag, and passed it, company after company, without breaking file till the last platoon touched the standard, when seven men dropped out, and turning to the left arranged themselves under the flag.

Ginckle is said to have viewed the conduct of this fine regiment with deep regret. But he was somewhat consoled when the two next marched up. These were Colonel Wilson's and Lord Iveagh's regiments of Ulster Irish. They filed off entire to the left. They were followed by about half of Lord Louth's regiment, and a sprinkling from Clifford's, Lutterel's, Purcell's, Hussy's, and Dillon's, and some other regiments.

All being done, and the whole army having passed the flag, the Irish generals distributed bread, brandy, claret, and money to their soldiers who had declared for France. Ginckle, on his side, regaled his new recruits with bread, cheese, brandy, and tobacco. Of the whole Irish army he had got but a thousand and forty-six men, and was so little pleased with the success of this experiment, that he seemed disposed to pick a quarrel with his new friends the Irish generals.

He expressed great displeasure at the interference of the clergy with the troops, which he considered as using unfair influence to deter the soldiery from entering the king's service. After this he despatched Colonel Mathews and Colonel Lumley to the Irish horse-camp, where the same ceremony of election was to be gone through.

These officers brought off about another thousand men of the horse, making little more than two thousand Irish altogether who had joined the British army. But about twice that number laid down their arms, and went to the British camp, and took the generals' passes to go to their homes. Ginckle, who, next to recruiting his own army, was anxious to prevent the French recruiting theirs, gave the men who disbanded small sums of money to encourage the practice.

A more extraordinary scene could not be, than this eager contention of the two great powers of Europe for the army of Ireland. That army itself was in a strange predicament. James's kingdom of Ireland was now to be broken up; and all the fixtures and furniture of the establishment were to be disposed of. The army was the most valuable commodity of this great household; and when it was put up to auction at Limerick, the zeal and anxiety of the bidders proved the high opinion entertained of its worth. All accounts concur in stating that a finer army never was paraded; but the officers,

especially the inferior officers, were by no means of as good quality as the troops.

Before the final dispersion at Limerick, the Irish generals made a second distribution of wine, brandy, provisions, and money, amongst the men. After this last and solemn feast, the army broke up. The horse, that had volunteered for France, passed through the city on the twelfth of October, on their way from the camp at Clare to Cork. They entered Limerick by Thomond Bridge, and passed out by Water Gate. The populace made some faint attempts to cheer this brave cavalry, and their cheers were as faintly answered. Fear and apprehension were in the hearts of the people, and grief weighed down the spirits of the soldiers. The former were about to be surrendered to the discretion of an army that had rendered itself hateful in Ireland; the latter were taking the last leave of their native land.

The cavalry were followed a few days after by the foot-guards, and the other infantry regiments destined for France. But the love of country had its usual effect upon the Irish. The men quitted their ranks every mile they marched, and went to their own homes, or to look for homes amongst their friends and relatives. This army had been chiefly raised between Cork and Limerick, and every man, as he passed his native village or hamlet, or the tree by the

road-side, or the stream that he remembered in his infancy, felt the irresistible influence of these associations, and rushed into the arms of his kindred. The regiments reached Cork with less than half their numbers; and many who arrived there found themselves at length overcome by the influence of the soil, and did not embark.

The officers, especially those of rank, were disconcerted at this desertion of the men. Most of them had friends and relatives at the court of France, or in the service of that country, or of Spain. They knew that their rank and acceptance in their new country must depend very much upon the number of soldiers they could take with them. A captain without a company, or a colonel without a regiment, could hardly expect the rank or emolument of his station. Many of the Irish officers had exalted notions of the splendour and dignity of the French monarchy; and perhaps a desire to enter this brilliant service had some influence with them in precipitating the treaty at Limerick; as there is no doubt that a wish to return to the Continent weighed with the French authorities in procuring their concurrence. Both parties were exceedingly disappointed by the event.

Two days after the treaty of Limerick was signed, and while yet the Irish were in possession of the English town, the French fleet arrived in the Shannon, and anchored off Scattery Island.

It consisted of eighteen large ships of war, four fire-ships, and twenty transports. The fleet brought a great abundance of warlike stores, clothing for the army, and about ten thousand men; and the ships of war were directed to remain in the Shannon and upon the coast, to co-operate with the army. This armament would have decided the fate of the war if it had arrived a little sooner: it was the largest, France had ever sent. The only use the Irish made of it was, to insist upon the insertion of a clause in the articles of Limerick, which had been agreed to, and was contained in the rough draft of the treaty, but omitted by the transcriber in the fair copy, which was afterwards signed without being compared with the original. The omitted clause was one of so great importance, that there is strong reason to suspect it was omitted by design, especially as Ginckle showed the utmost reluctance to repair the error; and probably it would not have been repaired if the French fleet had not appeared in the river.

The clause was that which extended the benefit of the agreement touching private property to the landed proprietors within the counties of Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and Mayo, and stipulated for the preservation of their estates from forfeiture.

The omission of this clause would have thrown a vast extent of landed property into the hands

of those who were eagerly looking for confiscations, and Ginckle himself was one of the number. When pressed upon the subject of the clause, he treated the matter very coldly, till the French fleet arrived, and then he shuffled and hesitated like a true Dutchman of the real mercantile breed, loth to relinquish the enjoyment of a fraud. In his distress, he sent repeated despatches to Sir Ralph Delaval, who commanded the British squadron off the coast, pressing him to hasten and come round to the Shannon, that the influence of his fleet might counterbalance that of the French, and save him from the calamity of being honest. But Sir Ralph did not come, and Ginckle was forced to insert the clause.

On the ratification of the articles by the king, it was again attempted to raise a question upon this clause; but William was ashamed of the attempt, and would listen to no suggestion so dishonourable.

The number of great proprietors, and small ones, which were abandoned by the terms of the treaty to confiscation ought to have satisfied the triumphant party. All the property of King James's adherents, not within the specified counties, and the quarters of the army, and all the property of those of the army who had been made prisoners by the accident of war, was abandoned by the Irish negotiators to confisca-

tion; and there is not on record an instance of a more shameful and dishonourable abandonment. All those who were thus sacrificed stood exactly in the same position as the negotiators themselves; they were their fellow-subjects and countrymen, embarked in the same cause, and contending for the same principles. The prisoners were their fellow-soldiers, who had fought by their side. This part of the treaty must be for ever a reproach to the army of Limerick.

While the Irish army were embarking, the lords justices issued a proclamation, offering pardon to the armed peasantry or rapparees, or, as they preferred to call themselves, "Irish Volunteers," who should come in within a given time, deliver up their arms, take the oath of allegiance, and return quietly to their homes. Those who neglected to do so might be killed by any one who thought proper. And any person who had an arm strong enough to engage in so profitable a trade, was to receive the sum of 40*s.* for every head of a rapparee which he could produce.

The Turkish practice of cutting off heads had been for some time adopted in Ireland, and the proclamation sanctioned and acknowledged the practice. The difficulty would be with the magistrate or justice of peace who was to pay the head-money, how to distinguish the head of a rapparee from any other head, or a

Popish head from a Protestant one. To a person of much tact, it might not be impossible to distinguish the theological principles of a head, when it happened to be unsevered from the shoulders that supported it and its errors; but when separated, and thrust with a multitude of other heads into a bag *, it seems difficult to suppose so much wisdom even in a justice of peace, as would be necessary to distinguish infallibly the head of a rapparee from that of an orthodox Protestant yeoman. However this difficulty might have been managed, it was still more puzzling to discriminate between the head of a rapparee that had submitted, and one that had not.

The rapparees, however, submitted every where, and without hesitation. They had no idea of continuing the war on their own account, and were now to be seen in great multitudes traversing the country, and driving their flocks and herds before them, as each party returned to their own homes. They appeared well fed and clothed, and possessed abundance of cattle.

A general quietness and tranquillity of the country followed the peace of Limerick, so complete and sudden, as to astonish every one.

* There is a tradition in the south of Ireland of a tragical occurrence in a family of rank, occasioned, about the time we treat of, by a bag of rapparee heads being emptied suddenly, and without caution, in the presence of a young lady.

All were amazed at the change. In a country where but a few weeks before no one could travel ten miles without danger of being put to the sword by some party or other, we are told a stranger might now travel from the northern to the southern extremity of the island without risk of robbery or murder.

To produce this effect, William had taken his measures with decision and celerity. The Irish army was gone, part to France, part incorporated in the British army, the rest disarmed and disbanded. The articles of Limerick were hardly signed, when Ginckle despatched the King's order to the Duke of Wirtemberg to ship himself and his Danes to the Continent. The other foreign troops were sent away with the same speed; and though they did not depart, especially the Danes, without doing much mischief, and forcing the government to purchase their peaceable departure by large donations of money, they were at length happily got rid of.

The last of the Irish troops for the French service were not shipped, when accounts arrived of the reception in that country of the first division that had sailed. These accounts spread dismay throughout the Irish army. The first division had arrived at Brest; and the troops, both French and Irish, had been received with all the dishonour due to a defeated army which had betrayed its trust. Lewis sent the French

commander, D'Usson, to the Bastile: and when the Irish landed, no quarters were assigned them, and they were suffered to lie in the fields and under the hedges in the neighbourhood of Brest for several days and nights.

Orders at length arrived from Paris to break the regiments and reduce the officers. The soldiers were drafted and scattered amongst all the French regiments of the line. The officers were reduced, the colonels to captains, the captains to lieutenants, these to sergeants and corporals, and the latter to the ranks. The superior officers were not received at court; and every thing shewed the displeasure and disappointment of the French government.

During the campaigns of the revolutionary war, we find the country abounding in provisions of every kind. There was a considerable manufacture and export of woollens, and some linens. The trade with France and Spain was carried on from the ports within the Irish quarters, and was brisk and profitable. The people of the lowest classes were well clothed and well fed; the wages of the labourer were high for that period, being four-pence a day with diet, and his house, garden, and plot of land : wages

* This is exactly the wages of the labourer, in most parts of Ireland, at the present day (1827); but four-pence of the period we treat of was equal to twelve-pence of our present coin, and the diet bears the same proportion in quality and abundance.

more than double of the present time, and which permitted them to use fleshmeat and wheaten bread every day. The rapparees, when driven from their homes by the movements of the English army, travelled with their flocks and herds, and made war like the tribes of Tartars.

The farmers were rich and substantial men, occupying large tracts of land at very low rents, and living in great abundance. We find the citizens in the towns, and the gentry every where on the sea coasts, abundantly supplied with the wines, brandies, fruits, silks, and other luxuries of France and Spain, and living lives of great ease and enjoyment. The war, and the precarious state of property, and the unchristian contention about creeds, were the calamities of this period.

CHAP. XVI.

FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE KINGDOM.

THE treaty of Limerick was a sort of compromise, a kind of arbitration adjustment of the dispute about creeds, kings, property, and power. As in all arbitrations, something was yielded on both sides, and no one was pleased. The revolution party gave up their long-cherished hopes of possessing themselves of the entire remnant of Popish property in Ireland which had escaped the Cromwellian forfeiture. The Catholics, on the other hand, surrendered a part, and sacrificed a devoted portion of their body to appease that passion for confiscation which would not be entirely disappointed.

The revolution party yielded their great object of excluding Catholics wholly from political power or religious toleration. The Catholics were content to take the law upon both points as it stood in the reign of Charles II., which did not give complete toleration or perfect political power; but apportioned both to suit the prejudices and the weight of parties at the time; and was therefore a convenient arrangement in the reign of William.

No one was pleased. The Anglo-Irish party inveighed bitterly against the treaty as being unreasonably favourable to the Irish, whom it was their object to crush, not to treat with. The Irish were loud in their accusations of those who had made peace with an enemy, who, they asserted, had never yet kept faith with them; and at the moment when a great French fleet was on the coast, and when, even without their help, they were able and ready to fight the battle out to the last. The court of France cried out loudly against the treaty as treasonable and disgraceful, having been made without necessity; the enemy having made no impression upon Limerick, the Irish army being as numerous as the British, well furnished with arms and clothing, having two months' supply of the best provisions, the money-chest full, and the town provided with great stores of wines, brandies, medicines, &c. No city, it was said, was ever better furnished for a siege. All this was true; and on the breaking up from Limerick, claret, brandy, fine French biscuit, and even money, were distributed lavishly to the soldiery.

Of all these complainants, the Anglo-Irish were the most unreasonable and unjust. The other parties had something to complain of; they were losers to a certain extent. The British interest lost nothing, and gained much,—quite as much as their success in the war entitled them

to, and as their limited and precarious power at the moment of the treaty permitted them to demand. Their chief gain was of a kind which they did not at all advert to, and which was of the utmost value, if it had been preserved.

The treaty of Limerick gave them a title to their estates which the crown could not bestow. In former wars, the Irish were dispossessed by force, and by force they frequently recovered their possessions when circumstances favoured the resumption. There was no treaty between the parties to which either could appeal. This insecurity was removed by the treaty of Limerick: if the Catholics could appeal to it for political rights, the Protestants could appeal to it for a confirmation of title. A better could not be than this solemn and voluntary compact between the great parties which then divided the nation.

The treaty of Limerick was a solemn deed and settlement, in which the Catholics of Ireland, for valuable consideration, settled and assented to a conveyance of the estates of the kingdom to Protestant proprietors. It is to be lamented that this national settlement was ever disturbed; because, if not a perfect security, it was the best which the Protestant proprietors could have for their estates. The Cromwellians tried the security of extermination, and forty years had not elapsed when a great population swept them

from the land, and it required an army gathered from every tongue and nation of Europe, and led by the most distinguished general of the age, to reinstate them; and, after all, it was but a bare escape.

Nothing could exceed the dissatisfaction of the violent Protestant party with the treaty. Their indignation was particularly directed against Ginckle. It was in vain that the general pleaded that he had in fact snatched them from ruin; that if he had delayed the treaty but two days, the French would have arrived, and his army, worn out with toils, would have been defeated and destroyed. All argument was useless; it was openly avowed in conversation, that there could be no real safety but by acting over again the exterminating system of Cromwell, and with more effect. It was easily shewn that this was no longer possible; that the population had grown beyond such a measure, and that the attempt would recoil upon the projectors, even if the king could be brought to consent to so cruel a project.

Against the argument of impossibility, the discontented quoted the example of the Israelites, and the fate of the Canaanites, as the Cromwellians had done. They contended against the imputation of cruelty, that they had the same warrant from heaven as the patriarchs of old, and were bound by the same obligation, to

purge the land which had been bestowed upon them of the abominations of superstition and idolatry. This doctrine obtained the countenance and support of several of the clergy; it was generally maintained in conversation, and found its way into print in numerous publications.

The clergy of the violent party commenced preaching against the treaty. Dr. Dopping, bishop of Meath, had the boldness to preach against it before the lords justices at Christ church, in Dublin, the Sunday after their return from Limerick. He reproached the justices bitterly for the treaty they had concluded, and argued that Protestants were not bound to keep faith with Papists.

The king was alarmed at this spirit, and ordered Dopping to be removed from the council; and Dr. Moreton, bishop of Kildare, and other moderate divines, were instructed to preach the obligation of keeping faith with all men. But Dopping continued to be the popular man amongst his party.

In April, 1692, the privy council met as a "court of claims." This was a description of court unknown in England, but which had become almost a part of the Irish system of judicature. Several such courts had been sitting with few intervals for about fifty years; they were, in fact, "courts of confiscation." Nearly

all the Catholic property of the country had been seized by the commissioners of forfeitures; and the question for the decision of the court was, who were now entitled to restitution, under the articles of Limerick, and who were not?

The amount of confiscated property was inconsiderable, compared with former wars. It did not amount to more than about one million and sixty thousand acres; but this was almost all that remained of Catholic property.

The court restored 233,106 acres to Catholic proprietors, adjudged to be comprised within the treaty of Limerick: about 75,000 acres were restored by William to persons whom he pardoned by special favour. Out of the remaining fund, he made considerable grants to friends and favourites of his own.

The proceedings of the court, and especially the grants and restorations made by William, became afterwards subjects of bitter cavil; and he was compelled to reassume several of them. A large grant to Ginckle gave so much offence to the Irish parliament, that the king was forced to resume it. They could not pardon the man who had saved them from ruin, nor confer an estate upon one who had preserved theirs.

The remaining undisposed lands were sold by auction at Chichester-house in Dublin. The great bulk of the property sold there was the estate of the Earl of Clancarty. It was doubt-

ful whether the earl was not within the articles, and William was disposed to preserve this great family. But Judge Cox, who had lately got into possession of considerable property in Munster, raised such a commotion among the settlers in the south, that the king was deterred. Cox procured the grand jury of the county of Cork to state, that the restoration of the earl to his estate would be injurious to the English interest. This argument was considered sufficient, though it amounted to no more than this, that it would have been inconvenient to those gentlemen to restore the earl's lands, which they had possessed themselves of.

William then granted part of the estate to Ginckle; and, as we have just observed, this disposition was also set aside. This estate of the Earl of Clancarty comprised a large portion of the county of Cork, and was the last great forfeiture that occurred in Ireland.

On the news of the bad reception of the Irish in France, several regiments that had volunteered for that service refused to embark; and Colonel M'Dermot's, Colonel Bryan O'Neil's, and Colonel Felix O'Neil's infantry laid down their arms and disbanded. This was the last that remained of the Irish army, and they were no sooner dispersed, than some disturbance followed. Many of the restored Catholic gentry were forcibly put out of possession of their lands and houses by the magistrates and sheriffs of

counties without warrant or process of law. Complaints were made of these and other outrages of the kind; and the lords justices issued their proclamation, strictly forbidding such illegal and violent proceedings. But it was exceedingly difficult to find a remedy in a country where the laws had for so long a period been in abeyance, and where the law officers were the violators. The effect was to give a new impulse to emigration.

Of the great families of the old Irish stock, few remained in Ireland, except collateral and junior branches, whom accident or infancy detained at home, destined to sink speedily into the abyss of poverty, which the events of so many ages had prepared for them. The heads of families found ready employment in the military service of the great powers of the Continent. Several entered into trade, and laid the foundation of eminent mercantile houses in France, Spain, London, and other parts of the world. They established correspondences with their friends and relations in Ireland, which became the matrix of a new formation of Catholic wealth in that country. Some portions of those estates which were lost by the chance of battle, have since been regained by the operations of industry.

As we know, from the debates and struggles in parliament during William's reign, that the

Catholics were understood at that period to be entitled by the treaty of Limerick to sit in both houses of parliament, we have the same authority of facts upon the question of their admissibility to the professions. Several of the Irish officers took commissions under William, and maintained their rank in their new service. The Catholics preserved also their places in the corporations, as long as the treaty continued to be respected.

In the legal profession, we have the instance of Chief Baron Rice. This eminent man quitted Ireland on the signature of the treaty, in company with James's other officers of state, to attend his master in France.

He had spent his whole property in the war; and he soon got tired of poverty and dependency in a foreign country. When the remnant of his fortune, which he had taken to France, was at length exhausted, he returned to Ireland, and entered the court as an humble practitioner of the law, where he had sat as chief judge. His abilities were known; his integrity was appreciated; practice flowed in upon him; and he soon amassed a second fortune, cheered by the respect and esteem of all who knew him, even those who had been most opposed to him in politics. Never did Baron Rice appear more truly eminent than when, in a stuff gown, and without a penny in his pocket, he pleaded his

first cause before that bench where he had ruled with so much ability.

The war of the Revolution settled finally the question of property in Ireland, which had been the root of all the wars of that country for ages past. It was a great misfortune that the Anglo-Norman invasion, under Henry the Second, was not powerful enough to effect a change in Ireland, as complete and as immediate as took place in England under the invasion by the Conqueror. The Saxons, at the time of the Conquest, underwent a change of property in Britain similar to what was effected by a long and tedious process upon the Milesians in Ireland. But they submitted, or were subdued, speedily; the Irish struggled long and painfully.

Unluckily, too, when the question of property could no longer be connected with the distinctions of race or nation, it took a new shape, and became entangled with the still more difficult question of religion. But whatever might be the nature or quality of the material it adhered to, it maintained its own character invariably, and never ceased to be substantially a question of property.

The enormities perpetrated in Ireland by both parties during the civil wars, but chiefly by the prevailing party, did not proceed so much from uncommon or extraordinary barbarity, as from

fear. Fear is the cruelest of all passions; it spares nothing; it has no relentings, no compassion. It is restrained by no principle; it is deaf to the pleadings of religion, and is incapable of Christianity.

The British settlers were, in every conflict in Ireland, a small minority. They waged the war with all the energy and ferocity of fear. Their safety depended generally upon the address with which they could divide and distract their enemies. The sword was suspended perpetually over their heads; the least chance, the slightest breath of ill fortune, might bring its edge upon them. It was the peril of their situation that made them dip, not their hands only, but their arms, to the shoulders, in blood. It has been so in all such cases, and in every age and country of the world.

The benefit which Ireland derived from the introduction of British government, and the destruction of her own system of petty principalities, was one of incalculable value, and might have been worth the calamity it cost.

Great national changes are rarely effected without great misery; and, perhaps, what accompanied the changes destined to take place in Ireland was not greater than what followed the fall of the heptarchies in England, and the Saxon and Norman invasions of that country. But it is nearer our own times. We know more

of it, and it makes a stronger impression upon us; and, above all, a fragment of that ponderous code which crushed millions is still permitted to subsist and keep alive the memory of past calamities.

Undoubtedly this fragment will, like the other portions of that penal code, be broken and scattered by the increase of knowledge; and the political union of Great Britain and Ireland will, at length, be identified with the interest and happiness of the Irish people. When this takes place, we would confidently pronounce, that, great as have been the sufferings under which the political connection of the two islands has been accomplished, and the civil and religious liberties of the people, of all sects and parties, secured, the result has been glorious for both nations, and fortunate for mankind, and may even be regarded as not too dearly purchased.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extracts from a Pamphlet, entitled "THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND IN THE PRESERVATION OF IRELAND." "Humbly presented to the Parliament of England," by G. P. Esq. Licensed 15th July, 1689. *J. Fraser.* London, printed for Rich. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1689.

Imployments, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military.

"Since England is bounded by the sea, and cannot be enlarged by the discovery of any newfound land; since the inhabitants are as fruitful as the soil, prolific, and continually multiplying and increasing; since the vigor and generosity of their temper, spurs them on to business and activity; and that the list of places, offices, and preferments in church and state, do bear no proportion with the number of competitors, candidates, and pretenders: It is an unexpressible benefit and advantage that they can so easily enlarge their quarters, and spread through a kingdom in polity subordinate, but in natural fertility no way inferior to that from whence they sprang. I think it very well worth the observation, that among all the bishops, deans, and dignities in the church of Ireland, (in the first year of the late king) so very few were born in that kingdom, but almost all of

them transplanted from England; so were the lord chancellor, lord chief baron, attorney general, and many of the judges and officers in the civil list; by such also, was the revenue managed. And for the army, it was perfectly a detachment out of the several shires in England. In a word, there did divines and scholars get preferment; lawyers, attornies, and others of the long robe, met with practice and promotion; clerks, accountants, and men of ingenious education, were gratified with imployments; the younger sons of the English nobility and gentry, were honoured with military commands; and thousands of the meaner sort trained up in the discipline of war. All which must have met with a check in their fortunes, and been subjected to a less generous course of living, and remained as shrubs in their own soil; while by this transplantation they grow up to tall trees, shoot out their branches, and bring forth abundant of fruit."

Consanguinity and Affinity.

"The inhabitants of Ireland, (excluding the natives of the land, who always were, and ever will be thorns in our sides; and who, since the first conquest of them, were never able to accomplish that design which was bequeathed from generation to generation, till this late unhappy juncture) do not derive their pedigree from strangers; they are the legitimate offspring of England and Scotland; there is scarce a man there of British extraction, except such as by very long continuance are degenerated into mere Irish, but in one of those kingdoms will challenge a father, brother, or near kinsman. They are not estranged in their language, habit, manners, or customs; they retain the natural propensions disseminated from their respective families, and own a filial reverence to their countries, as to their lawful

parents (not their step mothers) who not being able to make a competent provision for all their issue at home, have sent some of their children abroad, to seek for their livelihood on the other side of the ferry; where in their manners and humour, they bear an exact resemblance at that original, whereof they are the transcript; except only in their profuse hospitality, and luxurious consumption of meat and drink (to which, perhaps, they are inclined by the constitution of the air, or disposed by the genius of the country, or tempted by the incredible plenty and cheapness of all sorts of provisions) yet in their language they have gone beyond their teachers, having refined the English tongue from the odd tones, and uncouth words used in several counties distant from London; and reformed the Scotch from the clownish dialect spoken by the vulgar people. So that the people of England are bound in conscience and common reason, to regard the English in Ireland, as bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh; and the Scots as naturalized and incorporated with them, to sympathize with them in their sufferings, to participate in their adventures, and from the principles of generosity, as well as the impulse of nature, and a prudential foresight of the same calamities hovering over their heads, to use their utmost effort to reassure that kingdom in its appendage to England, *and absolutely to eradicate the Irish Papists*, and all French intruders."

No. II.

LIST OF KING JAMES'S PARLIAMENT, WHICH SAT IN DUBLIN, MAY, 1689.

House of Lords.

Lord Gosworth, (Sir Alexander Fitton,) Lord Chancellor.

Earl of Westmeath.
Barrymore.
Clancarty.
Tyrone.
Longford.
Granard.
Limerick.

Viscount Glanmalira.
Iveagh.
Mountgarret.
Dillon.
Rosse.
Galway.
Kennare.
Mountcashel.

Baron Kinsale.
Enniskillen.
Strabane.
Castleconnel.
Brittas.
Dunboyne.
Cahir.
Athenry.
Dunsany.
Howth.
Upper Ossory.
Slane.
Riverstown.
Bophin.
Trimbleston.

Bishop Meath.
Ossory.
Cork.
Limerick.

House of Commons.

Sir Richard Nagle, Speaker.

City of Dublin.
Sir Michael Creagh, Knt. Lord Mayor.
Terence M'Dermot, Ald.

College of Dublin.
Sir John Meade, Knt.
Joseph Coghlan.

City of Cork.
Sir James Cotter, Knt.
John Galway.

City of Limerick.
Nicholas Arthur, Ald.
Thomas Harrold, Ald.

City of Waterford.
Nicholas Fitzgerald.
John Porter.

City of Cashel.
Dennis Kearney, Ald.
James Hachett, Ald.

City of Kilkenny.
John Rooth, Mayor.
James Bryan, Ald.

Borough of Carlow.
Marcus Baggot.
John Warren.

Borough of Leighlin.
Darby Long.
Daniel Doran.

Borough of Tuam.
James Lally.
William Bourke.

Borough of Callan.
Walter Butler.
Thady Meagher.

Borough of Thomastown.
Robert Grace.
Robert Grace, Jun.

Borough of Gowran.
Col. Robert Fielding.
Walter Kelly.

Borough of Knocktopher.
Harvey Morris.
Henry Meagher.

Borough of Inistoghe.
Edward Fitzgerald.
James Fitzgerald.

Borough of Youghall.
Thomas Uniack, Ald.
Edward Gough, Ald.

Borough of Dungarvan.
John Hore.
Martin Hore.

Borough of Kinsale.
Andrew Morrough.
Miles de Courcy.

Borough of Baltimore.
Daniel O'Donovan.
Jeremiah Donovan.

Borough of Bandon.
Charles M'Carty of Ballea.
Daniel M'Carty (Reigh.)

Borough of Clonakilty.
Col. Owen M'Carty.
Daniel M'Finin M'Carty.

Borough of Tralee.
Maurice Hussy.
John Brown of Ardah.

Borough of Ardfert.
Col. Roger M'Ellicot.
Cornelius M'Gillicuddy.

Borough of Middleton.
Dermid Long.
John Long.

Borough of Mallow.
John Barrett.
David Nagle.

Borough of Rathcormick.
John Barry.
Edward Powel.

Borough of Charleville.
John Baggot.
John Power.

Borough of Clonmel.
Nicholas White, Ald.
John Bray, Ald.

Manor of Donerail.
Daniel O'Donovan.
John Baggot.

Borough of Fethard.
Sir John Everard, Bart.
James Tobin.

Borough of Dingle.
Edward Rice.
John Hussey.

Borough of Roscommon.
John Dillon.
John Kelly.

Borough of Boyle.
John King.
Terence M'Dermot.

Borough of Kells.
Patrick Everard.
John Delamere.

Borough of Navan.
Christopher Cusack of Corbalis.
Christopher Cusack of Ratholeran.

Borough of Trim.
Nicholas Cusack.
Walter Naugle.

Borough of Rathcool.
John Hussey.
James Fitzgerald.

Borough of Kilmallock.
Sir Henry Harley, Bart.
John Lacy.

Borough of Athboy.
John Trynder.
Robert Longfield.

Borough of Askeaton.
John Bourke.
Edward Rice.

Borough of Mullingar.
Gerrard Dillon, Prime Sergeant.
Edmund Nagle.

Borough of Athlone.
Edmond Malone.
Edmond Malone, (of Jurisperit.)

Borough of Kilbeggan.
Brian Geoghegan.
Charles Geoghegan.

Borough of Maryborough.
Pierce Bryan.
Thady Fitzpatrick.

Borough of Ballinakill.
Sir Gregory Byrne, Bart.
Oliver Grace.

Borough of Galway.
Oliver Martin.
John Kirwan.

Borough of Cavan.
Philip O'Reilly.
Hugh Reilly of Lara.

Borough of Belturbet.
Sir Edward Tyrrell, Bart.
Phillip Tuite.

Borough of Sligo.
Oliver O'Gara.
Henry Crofton.

Borough of Dungannon.
Arthur O'Neill.
Peter Donnelly.

Borough of Strabane.
Christopher Nugent.
Daniel Donnelly.

Borough of Jamestown.
Alexander M'Donnell.
William Stanly.

Borough of Belfast.
Marcus Talbot.
Daniel O'Neil.

Borough of Wexford.
William Talbot.
Francis Rooth.

Borough of New Ross.
Richard Butler.
Luke Dormer.

Borough of Newburgh.
Richard Doyle.
Abraham Strange.

Borough of Enniscorthy.
James Devereux.
Arthur Waddington Portriffe.

Borough of Bannow.
Francis Plowden.
Alexius Stafford.

Borough of Fethard.
Right Hon. Col. James Porter.
Nicholas Stafford.

Borough of Newry.
Rowland White.
Rowland Savage.

Borough of Killeagh.
Bernard M'Gennis.
Toole O'Neil.

Borough of Castlebar.
John B. Portriffe.
Thomas Bourke.

Borough of Lanesborough.
Oliver Fitzgerald.
Roger Farrell.

Borough of Phillipstown.
John Connor.
Hewer Oxburgh.

Borough of Bannagher.
Terrence Coghalan.
Ter. Coghalan.

Borough of Taghmon.
George Hore.
Walter Hore.

Borough of Clomine.
Edward Sherlock.
Nicholas White.

Borough of Swords.
Francis Barnwall.
Robert Russell.

Borough of Newcastle.
Thomas Arthur.
John Talbot.

Borough of Carysfort.
Hugh Byrne.
Pierce Archbold.

Borough of Kildare.
Francis Leigh.
Robert Porter.

Borough of Harristown.
Edmond Fitzgerald.
James Nibell.

Borough of Athy.
William Fitzgerald.
William Archbold.

Borough of Naas.
Walter Lord Dungan.
Charles White.

Borough of Blessington.
James Eustace.
Maurice Eustace.

Borough of Drogheda.
Christopher Fitzgeorge.
Henry Dowdal, Recorder.

Borough of Dundalk.
Robert Dermot.
John Dowdall.

Borough of Carlinford.
Christopher P. Fitz Ignatius.
Bryan Dermot.

Borough of Atherdee.
Hugh Gernon.
John Babe.

Borough of Portarlington.
Sir Henry Bond, Bart.
Sir Thomas Hacket, Knt.

Borough of Johnston.
Sir William Ellis, Knt.
Lieut. Col. James Nugent.

Borough of Fowree.
John Nugent.
Christopher Nugent.

Borough of Ennis.
Francis M'Namara.
Theobald Butler.

County of Dublin.
Patrick Sarsefield of Lucan.
Simon Lutterel.

County of Cork.
Justin M'Carty.
Sir Richard Nagle, Knt.

County of Carlow.
Henry Lutterel.
Dudly Bagnal.

County of Galway.
Sir Ulick Bourke, Bart.
Sir Walter Blake, Bart.

County of Kilkenny.
James Grace.
Robert Walsh.

County of Tipperary.
Nicholas Purcell.
James Butler.

County of Kerry.
Nicholas Brown.
Sir Thomas Crosby, Knt.

County of Meath.
Sir William Talbot, Bart.
Sir Patrick Barnwall, Bart.

County of West Meath.
Hon. Col. William Nugent.
Hon. Col. Henry Dillon.

Queen's County.
Sir Patrick Trant, Knt.
Edward Morris.

County of Cavan.
Phillip Reilly.
John Reilly.

County of Sligo.
Oliver O'Gara.
Henry Crofton.

County of Tyrone.
Col. Gordon O'Neil.
Lewis Doe.

County of Clare.
Daniel O'Brien.
John M'Namara.

County of Leitrim.
Iriel Farrel.
Edmond Reynells.

County of Armagh.
Constantine O'Neil.
Francis Stafford.

County of Antrim.
Cormac O'Neil.
Randal M'Donnel.

County of Wexford.
Walter Butler.
Patrick Colclough.

County of Longford.
Roger Farrell.
Robert Farrell.

County of Mayo.
Walter Bourke.
Gerrald Moore.

County of Downe.
Mortogh M'Gennis.
Ever M'Gennis.

County of Wicklow.
Richard Butler.
William Talbot.

County of Kildare.
George Aylmer.
John Wogan.

King's County.
Owen Carrol.
Hewer Oxburgh.

County of Lowth.
William Talbot.
Thomas Bellew.

County of Roscommon.
John Bourke.
Charles Kelly.

County of Monaghan.
Bryan M'Mahon.
Hugh M'Mahon.

No. III.

LIST OF THE GENERAL AND FIELD OFFICERS OF THE IRISH ARMY KILLED AND TAKEN PRISONERS AT THE BATTLE OF AUGHRIM.

Killed.

St. Ruth, General-in-Chief
Lord Kilmallock
Galway
Brigad.-Gen. Connel
Barker
O'Neil
Colonel Charles Moore
David Bourke
Ulick Bourke
Colonel Macguire
Talbot
Arthur
Mahony
Lieut.-Colonel Morgan
Major Purcel
O'Donnel
Sir John Everard.

Prisoners.

Lord Duleek
Slane
Buffin
Kenmare
Major-General Dorrington
Hamilton
Brigadier-General Tuite
Colonel Walter Bourke
Gordon O'Neil
Butler of Kilcash
O'Connel
Madden
Lieut.-Col. Chappel
Lieut.-Col. John Butler
Baggot
John Border
Macgennis
Macguire
Rossiter
Major Lawless
Kelly
Grace
William Bourke
Edmund Butler
Edmond Broghil
John Hewson

No. IV.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ARTICLES OF LIMERICK, EXACTLY PRINTED FROM THE LETTERS PATENT; WHEREIN THEY ARE RATIFIED AND EXEMPLIFIED BY THEIR MAJESTIES, UNDER THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND.

GULIELMUS et Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicessimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the 3d day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part; and several officers there commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenour of which said articles is as follows, viz.

ARTICLES agreed upon the Third Day of October, One thousand six hundred and ninety-one,

BETWEEN the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland; and His Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, on the one part;

And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part:

In the Behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In Consideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, and other Agreements made between the said Lieutenant-General Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing Date with these Presents, for the Surrender of the said City, and Submission of the said Army: it is agreed, That,

I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish,

and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience, and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of King Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles the Second, and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles the Second: provided that nothing in this article contained be con-

strued to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised; provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants, of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the

beginning of the reign of King James the Second; and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices and general will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses; and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of

Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army; for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his cre-

ditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices and the said Baron De Ginckle shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to, the payment of so much of the same debts as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one-and-twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands.

Present,

SCRAVENMORE,	CHAR. PORTER,
H. MACCAY,	THO. CONINGSBY,
T. TALMASH,	Baron DE GINCKLE.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now, know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said

counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered; and that our said justices and general, or one of them, did promise, that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in anywise notwithstanding: provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. witness ourself at Westminster, the 24th day of February, anno regno regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos, { S. Keck, Lacon Wm. Childe, } In Cancel. Magistros.

MILITARY ARTICLES agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, on the one side; And the Lieutenant-Generals De Ussoon and De Tesse, Commanders-in-Chief of the Irish Army on the other; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I. THAT all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted), where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate, and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as also those called rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned; viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next, in Limerick; the horse at their camp, on Wednesday; and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers; and after such

declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither: and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland (if they are willing to remain here), as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherwise employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that General Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships, where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other movables, or household-stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered; and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid, and all other persons belonging to

them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burden two hundred tons; for which, the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burden, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burden.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport-ships, and what condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready the troops to be transported shall march, with all convenient speed, the nearest way, in order to embark there: and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped, to be transported into France, which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nants, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted), and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if, then, there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, General Ginckle will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war that were in Ireland the 28th of September shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and that, besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into

France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If, after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port, to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the abovesaid troops, and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond Bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for

France, and no longer, they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons: and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will choose, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place; and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters where the said troops shall be: and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to

their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men: and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages ———, and the general shall give ———:

XXIX. If, before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle, all those that shall be appointed to command the same shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

Oct. 19. Baron DE GINCKLE.

THE END.

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